

may 1960

motive



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VOLUME XX / 8

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FRONT COVER ART: by MARGARET RIGG. Saul on the road to Damascus encountered Christ and became a new man, Paul, capable of leading the disunified People of God and reconciling Gentile and Jew in the Faith—all this seems paralleled by the role of the new Negro in the south rising to leadership in reconciliation.

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ANNUNCIATION

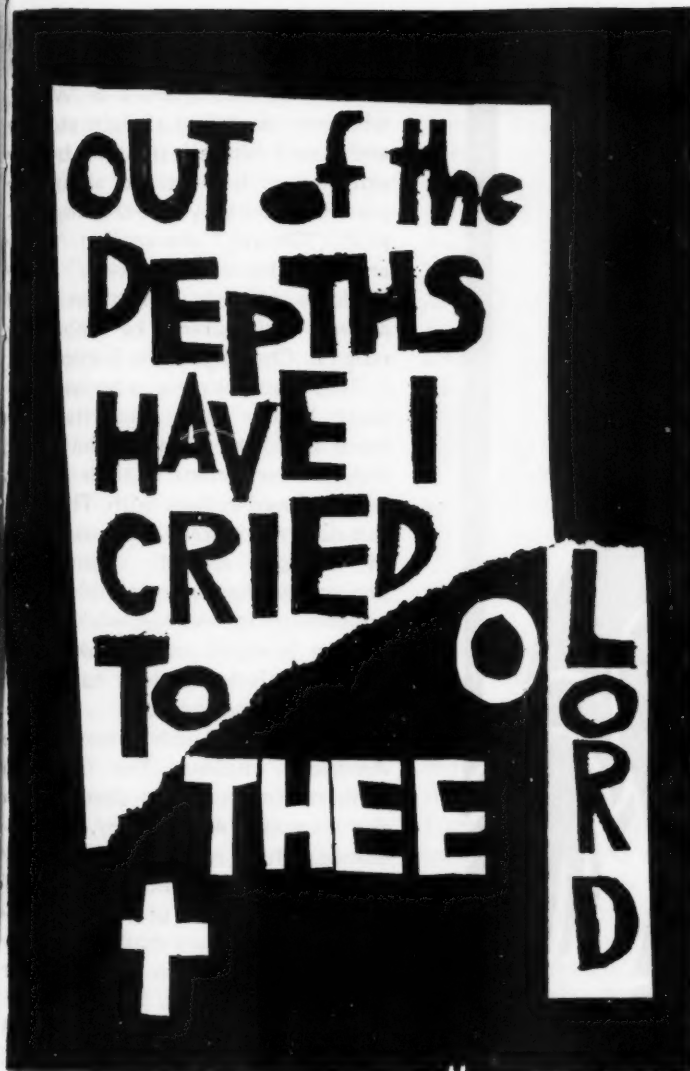
KENNETH NELSON

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May

nonviolence and racial justice



Now I cannot say that violence never wins any victories. Nations have often won their independence through the use of violence. But violence never achieves ultimate peace. It creates many more social problems than it solves. And violence ends up by defeating itself. It is my firm conviction that if the Negro succumbs to the temptations of using violence in his struggle for justice, unborn generations will be the recipients of a long and desolate night of bitterness. And our chief legacy to the future will be an endless reign of meaningless chaos.

The method of nonviolence does not seek to defeat and humiliate the opponent but to win his friendship and understanding. And so the aftermath of nonviolence is the creation of the beloved community while the aftermath of violence is bitterness. The method of nonviolence is directed at the forces of evil rather than at the individuals who are the agency of the forces of evil. The nonviolent resister seeks to eliminate evil systems rather than to harm individuals who have become parts of the evil systems.

The nonviolent resister not only avoids external physical violence but he avoids internal violence of spirit. We must not allow ourselves to become bitter and to indulge in hate campaigns. We must come to see that this would lead deeper and deeper into the mire. To return hate for hate does nothing but intensify the existence of hate and evil in the universe. Somehow people in this universe must come to have sense enough and morality enough to return love for hate.

—THE REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

THEM



*'If any man has a mind to come my way, let him re-
nounce self, and take up his cross daily, and follow me'*

TODAY Magazine, March 1964

BY ROBERT H. HAMILL

THE mood of the modern campus is suggested in the experience of the British theologian, J. S. Whale, who was counseling a bright student and found himself puzzled by her attitude, so he inquired about her parents. "Are they churchgoing people?" "Oh, no," she replied. "They are much too old-fashioned." Many students of this generation rebel against their parents by embracing religion. Churchgoing is fashionable.

This does not mean a boom or revival. In the main, students show more curiosity than commitment; they are competent in their studies and confused in their faith. The campus does not display the usual signs of religious revival: spontaneous prayer meetings, intense Bible study, enlistments for mission work—none of this. Students are not faking any faith; life is too serious to tamper with or pretend about.

It is still hard work to convert the American student. The Christian faith confronts severe obstacles on the campus. *Anthropology*, for instance, which reveals the ingenuity of men in devising differing ways of behavior, all more or less satisfactory, and this casts doubt upon any Way which claims to be superior or potentially universal. *Sociology*, likewise. Professor Kinsey taught us that sexual behavior differs widely among differing levels of educational attainment; hence the unwary student concludes that his morality depends more upon his school achievement than his religious faith. Moreover, students hesitate to make "moralistic" judgments; they will not report on others who cheat in exams; they refuse to get caught with their absolutes showing, and this dilutes and dissipates the content of morality and makes everything feel relative.

THE MIND OF CHRIST

Add to this the permissiveness of the psychiatrist. It is not the business of the counselor to pass judgment, but to accept and understand the counsellee; yet this gives the impression that Christianity can only accept our human faults and not remake human nature. That is, justification but no sanctification. Add also the *mood of the existentialist* who rejects traditional morality and feels that every situation is new and he must make his own morality as he goes along. There is enough truth here to deserve Christian respect, and also enough danger to lead no less a theologian than Marilyn Monroe to say, "Everyone has the right to do what he wants to do."

On this kind of campus the student plods along with a pedestrian religion, without dance or ecstasy. His religion is empty: empty of biblical knowledge, for his ignorance of Bible is abysmal; empty of ethical compulsion, devoid even of that ancient trinity of "don't smoke, don't drink, don't get into trouble." Campus religion has the feel of "Waiting for Godot." As Professor Politzer put it, students are "waiting for nothing and its second coming," waiting without really expecting anything to happen. They live in a mood of acceptance. They accept corruption, almost *expect* corruption, so wise are they in the ways of the world, and are not incensed by it. They dream of two cars and four children, but there is no crusade they will "bruise their hands and bleed and die for."

Their mood includes introspection, indeed almost an inner suspicion of themselves. In that profane but tender little book, *The Catcher in the Rye*, the hero flunks out of school, goes home, and his little sister urges him to buck up and

amount to something; maybe become a lawyer, like father! This would be all right, he admits, if a lawyer could save innocent guys' lives, "but you don't *do* that kind of stuff if you're a lawyer. All you do is make a lot of dough and play golf and play bridge and buy cars and look like a hot-shot. And besides, even if you did go around saving guys' lives and all, how would you know if you *did* it because you really *wanted* to . . . or because you really wanted to be a terrific lawyer, with everybody slapping you on the back? . . . How would you know you weren't being a phony? The trouble is, you *wouldn't*."

STUDENTS ask questions, deep and searching questions, not about sex and sin and politics so much as about themselves: what kind of creature am I? why was I born to this time and place? among the contradictions in me, which is the real self? how can I know what I am supposed to be? what difference does it make, that I am here?

In this situation, with such students as these, how can the mind of Christ be developed? How the Word of God be proclaimed? How the gospel be witnessed? Evangelism is the mission of all our work. Christian education has this for its purpose, that students be confronted with God who meets them in Christ. How is this to be done?

The negative answer is obvious and not necessarily untrue. Developing the mind of Christ is not the same as church attendance. It is not an activity of worship nor of study, required courses and compulsory chapel, extracurricular committees and projects. It does not result from a building, either a chapel at Wes-

leyan or a center across University Avenue from some state university. It is not embodied in chaplain or director of religious life, and surely it does not consist of splurges like Religion in Life Week, the campus equivalent of Church Attendance Crusade. All such devices have not prevailed against the tide of indifference; by their fruits they are known to be barren and dried up. It is not possible to promote an evangelistic revival: Pentecost was not organized by any board; the Reformation was not launched by any council of bishops; neither John Wesley, Martin Luther, Simon Peter nor their Master thought of mailing, mimeograph and meetings as the holy trinity.

Communication of the gospel, the development of the mind of Christ, in the words of Hendrick Kraemer, is "neither primarily nor ultimately dependent on our human ability to communicate." The Bible consistently maintains that the primary agent of any effective message is



the Holy Spirit. In any dialogue of two people concerning Christian things, the invisible third Person is present, dominant and pervasive, and only thus does understanding get transformed into faith, and persuasion issue in conversion.

If this is true, and my whole argument hinges here, it follows that even our best efforts and wisest evangelism do not guarantee success. The Bible nowhere justifies the search for successful and effective methods; it prompts us only to make faithful and obedient witness. There is inherent in the message an "unacceptable, divine foolishness" which does not always succeed.

Kraemer in *The Communication of the Christian Faith* directs our attention to the biblical view of hardening of hearts. It is God's doing. The church today has more affluence than influence, and we have a terrible reminder of that in the legend of Thomas Aquinas standing with the Pope before the gates of St. Peter's, watching the wealth of the empire pour into the treasury. The Pontiff boasted, "Gone are the days when the church must say, 'Silver and gold have I none.'" The theologian replied, "Alas, gone too are the days when the church can say, 'But what I have I give to you. Arise, take up your bed and walk.'" Perhaps never before now has some Christian message been so widely proclaimed and so widely disregarded. Hearing, men do not hear; seeing, they do not see, and perhaps this is the Lord's doing. I mean, it is the divine defense against our superficial gospel; it is God's protection of his people against any easy gospel; human aloofness, indifference, resistance are the divine protection against a religion that has lost its transcendence and its judgment. "He confounds the proud in the imagination of their hearts. . . . He hardens the hearts of the disobedient." This cardiosclerosis is divine judgment against our soft faith.

Profoundly and graphically this is set forth in the story of the tower of Babel, when men proudly used their own achievements to reach the

heavens and "to make a name for ourselves." It requires not much imagination to illustrate this from the morning newspaper. It was God who said, "Let us go down and confound their language, so that they may not understand one another." It was the Lord's doing. And this is precisely where we stand in this generation, especially among students. The campus is a pluriform, chameleonic, multilingual experience. The university is a multiversity held together, it is said, only by its plumbing. Even the small church college is stricken with this same breakdown of language, so that two faculty colleagues with adjacent desks cannot understand one another. This is the Lord's doing. Be not surprised that it is difficult to penetrate the diversified campus with the unifying gospel.

In the Bible the answer waits for Pentecost, which is the reverse, the rescue from Babel, and there the confusion of tongues disappears, and communication is restored, and faith is reborn. I suggest that here we stand, in 1960, on the American campus—somewhere between our fall and our redemption, Hezekiah

is our prophet: "This is a day of distress, or rebuke and of disgrace; children have come to birth, and there is no strength to bring them forth" (II Kings 19:3). We stand between the times; one world is dead, the other powerless to be born. We walk with Abraham, not knowing where we go. We see with Paul, through a glass very darkly.

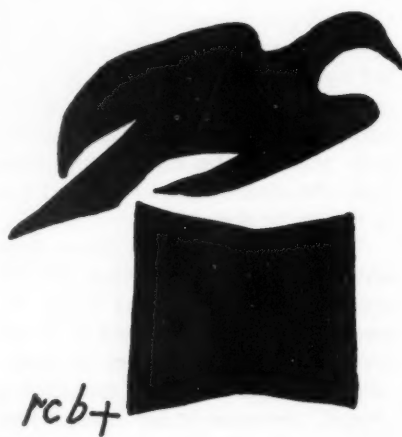
Yet perhaps we do see, however darkly.

THE APOLOGETIC TASK

For one thing we see that evangelism must get *through*, else it is not evangelism. It must be communication *among*, as well as communication *of*, to use Kraemer's words. Revelation has not happened unless some One is revealed; speaking to a deaf man is not speaking. It does no good to blame students for their deafness. There are multitudes of students who turn their backs on the buildings and symbols of official Christianity. There are multitudes of such students in the state universities where the majority of youth go for higher education; there are smaller multitudes, but still multitudes of them in church-related colleges where Christianity is rejected more subtly but just as decisively. The affluent church is headed for trouble in this country in this century, as it has already encountered severe shock throughout the world in recent decades. For this church to say about students, "We offer them buildings and staff and counseling, let them come take it!" is to speak with authority but not with love.

The opposite technique is equally wicked: what the basketball men call "the full court press," the dogged pursuit of every player in his every turn—this insults and alienates the students.

Nay, to develop the mind of Christ requires that the present claims of Christ be set forth to the student in his freedom, his sovereign and intellectual freedom. We cannot babysit over his decision, we can only present the claim so that it is inescapable. If the mind of Christ comes to him like "blessing and cursing, life and death," the student



must answer Yes or No. In order to be unavoidable the gospel must meet him in his primary environment where he lives and thinks and makes his daily decisions. This cannot be done by clergy and professional staff; many students resent professional Christians that have something to promote! This will require faculty and administrators, counselors and dorm staff who are alert, sensitive, and responsive to the Holy Spirit. Their proclamation of the Christian mind cannot, praise God! be organized, and they will be utterly dependent upon the Holy Spirit for his guidance. Martin Niemoller commented, "God is a better organizer than we. He organizes from within."

Also the gospel must be translated into the wider secular studies of art and science, philosophy and history, and the implications of God's action for a rational understanding of the world be explored. This means that apologetics must take equal stand with proclamation; the recovery of theological passion must be guided by the apologetic task of getting the mind of Christ *through* to the mind of students. To develop the mind of Christ requires first theological proclamation and parallel apologetic.

RE-EXPOSURE TO THE BIBLE

I think we see also that this peculiar situation requires a new understanding of the gospel itself which can come through our re-exposure to the Bible. For students the Bible is an alien book, a smattering of tall tales and teaching, none of it usable. Its language is a foreign tongue: divine creation, covenant, election, sin, mercy, judgment, rebirth, reconciliation, faith, kingdom—these immense biblical ideas add up to nonsense, that is, nonsense. We cannot communicate the mind of Christ to students by counting on the Bible to carry its meaning. We have primer work yet to do, and this should cause us soberly to reassess our Sunday schools and Youth Fellowship studies. We need to approach the Bible again without any theories about it, but simply to listen to it,



"for the Word of God is living and active, sharper than any two-edged sword, discerning the thoughts and intentions of the heart" (Heb. 4:12). Perhaps that experience can be recaptured for students before it is too late.

NEW DOCTRINES AND NEW DISCIPLINES

Finally, I have a hunch that Tillich has correctly diagnosed the mood of the modern campus. Students feel futile, empty, meaningless. Life has no shape or passion. The student is captured by no settled concern that consumes his energies. He tries everything, and nothing satisfies.

I suggest therefore that to develop the mind of Christ among students we should concentrate on the doctrines of creation and vocation. The gospel holds the secular life in high regard. It can declare to students that the issues of life hinge on their decisions of classroom work, marriage and job. Students are

called as the people of God, chosen for the obedience of citizenship on campus, set aside for the work of study, and sent on errands of reconciliation in that campus world.

The mind of Christ will thereby demand disciplines and make high expectations. The best of this student generation respond best to the highest demands, and they turn away in disgust from any "cheap grace." They are insulted by any overtones of protection, and they respond to the appeal of austerity. One of the most promising efforts to develop the Christian mind on the modern campus is the "faith and life community," a project which requires daily worship, ten hours a week of Christian study and service, in addition to the tasks of cooperative eating and housing.

Some campuses experiment with agnostic week-end retreats, where the committed ones listen and learn how the world appears to the unbe-



7 GIFTS OF THE SPIRIT

lievers; thus a two-way dialogue begins, and God speaks to both, and through both to each other. Other campuses conduct travel studies where the protected, campus-Christians get exposed to the raw edges of life. Still another lively arena of Christian battle is the arts—literature and drama especially; wherein Christians both confront themselves with the gospel, and proclaim it to others. I saw a vivid instance of this one recent summer in Berlin, in a seminary where German youth are volunteering for the ministry in East Germany in greater numbers than they can be trained. The students devise ingenious ways to testify to their faith. They turned to drama, and chose the instance of King Herod who took his brother Phillip's wife for himself. The dean of the school watched the rehearsal. In bold language young John the Baptist strode into the court. "Your Majesty, there is a moral law in this land that no man may take unto himself the woman who belongs to his brother. You may be king in this land, but there is a law that is higher than you." Whereupon the dean came forward and protested. "Young men, I admire your courage, but not your good sense. You can't do this in East Germany. Even the communists will understand what you are saying." The students answered, "We hope so, and we do it nevertheless." They did. They took the play out to the towns of East Germany all summer long, playing in the schools and churches and open-air theaters which were always crowded, because the reputation of the play went out ahead of them. Here were young Christian students, almost alone in East Germany, daring to say No to an evil regime—young Christian students who deeply believed the parts they were playing—taking their lives in their hands every time they opened their mouths.

This mind of Christ is a wonderful and terrible thing. I wonder if we really want it developed among our own students. If our students, learning from the mind of Christ, begin to say No to fraternities which dis-

criminate, how will we feel if they say No to the church for the same reason? If they learn to renounce the folly of atomic warfare how will we hold them to the church that justifies atomic warfare? If students learn that the mind of Christ has at its heart a simple, uncalculating confidence, what will they do to our Methodist obsession with goals, campaigns, quotas, size and statistics? Students just might learn that white collars and white skins do not span the spectrum of the gospel, and that God is concerned for government, schools and labor as much as for the church.

THE GOSPEL IN THE FLESH

These students are caught in the peculiar temper of this age; they are "status seekers, other-directed, role players, conformists"; and *precisely for that reason* they must see the gospel in person before they can identify it. They need a how-to-do-it demonstration of the gospel, wrapped up in a person, in some professor or administrator, some preacher or counselor. It may require that the young teacher, named Van Doren or Adam, cling to the truth despite all tempting inducements, for only in that strict adherence to honesty can he "exalt the status of the intellectual." It may require Christian college administrators to decline the federal loan fund because of its disclaimer affidavit, and so suffer in competition for students, for how else can students learn that presidents and trustees mean what they say, when they say that principles are nobler than budgets? This gospel must be brought to the campus world which does not want it but cannot do without it—a campus which for its own safety must be brought to believe and obey the gospel; but it can be brought to that only by those who themselves believe and obey the mind that was in Christ.

The question is not whether this is effective, but whether it is obedient and faithful to our own calling as Christian men. All else lies in the hand of Him who cares more about this than we possibly can.

young man in the city

contributed through
William Henzlik,
pastor of The Methodist Church,
Oak Forest, Illinois.



COMING to the big city for me was like moving to a new country. Nearly everything I had thought, done, learned, or worked at was out of style here. Oh, there were similarities, but somehow the basic way of things was different from what I had known before.

Take the people, the vast, flowing crowds of people almost everywhere in the city—at least I remember them as being that way when I first came here. One evening I was standing on the train platform looking for a family friend I was supposed to meet. Six streams of people poured through the station floor to the trains. My eyes blurred from trying to see familiar lines of nose and mouth on so many hurrying faces. The people became pulsating streams of gabardine, tweed, and worsted topped by off-pink balloons. Each seemed propelled by a driving urge to race home for companionship, relaxation, and an individual, private place in the world.

Another physical force that bothered me when I first came to the

city was the noise. You could never get away from the traffic sounds of bus exhausts, horns bleating, and tires screeching as cars braked or went around curves and corners. In this constant background of commotion was the periodic roar of the elevated trains overhead. Just about any place in the city, your conversation was interrupted by the rushing rumble of passenger and freight trains on elevated grades and street overpasses. Now I can only vaguely remember the gentle morning freshness or the afternoon stillness in the small town and country.

Loneliness the first year is not particularly painful. It is felt rather as a gradual dulling that takes off the fine edge of a new experience. To do an exciting thing, like seeing a new Broadway musical visiting Chicago, is a reason for gleeful conversation, analysis, and even argument. But it would be so good to have people you can trust to do this with. I've come out of the theater on a clear starry night, just bursting to talk to other men and women about

a new song's impact on my musical sense or a particular scene that illuminated the play's theme. But you just can't say things like that to the average girl you might have with you. It takes a shared sense of past longing to see such things.

Of course, there's the job, and that takes most of the day and most of your energy the first year or so. Learning the basic tasks in their weekly routine kept me pretty occupied. It was a real struggle to be as precise and as speedy as city standards demand. For weeks at a time, I just strained to speed up my inner machinery to the tempo of the activity around me. This goes for the job and for the outside concerns, too—the clothes, the speech, and the entertainment.

SOME of us wear shoes that are too "yellow-brownish" for the city, but we don't know it for months. I remember my suit jackets had lapels that were too wide and too sharply pointed, but I didn't realize it until I had lived here six months or a year.

But there comes a time when the inner wheels are humming smoothly at about the same speed as the crowd's. You go to lunch with the fellows at noon, alert to the latest office or shop gossip; you order the current luncheon favorite on the menu, even though a year before you'd never even heard of it in the wilds of Missouri or downstate Indiana.

The boss is friendly and forgiving

of most of your mistakes. You have reached cruising speed in your journey through the hopes and dreams and standards of the big American city. . . .

But, at least for me, little cracks and distant rumblings appeared and sounded here and there. The lunches, the cocktail parties, the conventions, and even the plays get to be almost a chore and not new adventures. Pretty soon it was convenient to throw down an extra Martini at lunch or when waiting for dinner at the trade association meeting. I had worked hard all day—maybe the whole week—and here is this meeting that used to be exciting. The faces are already a little tired, and the talk is slightly forced. Something is needed for a pick-me-up so that the meeting can get going or the party can be truly said to be off and running.

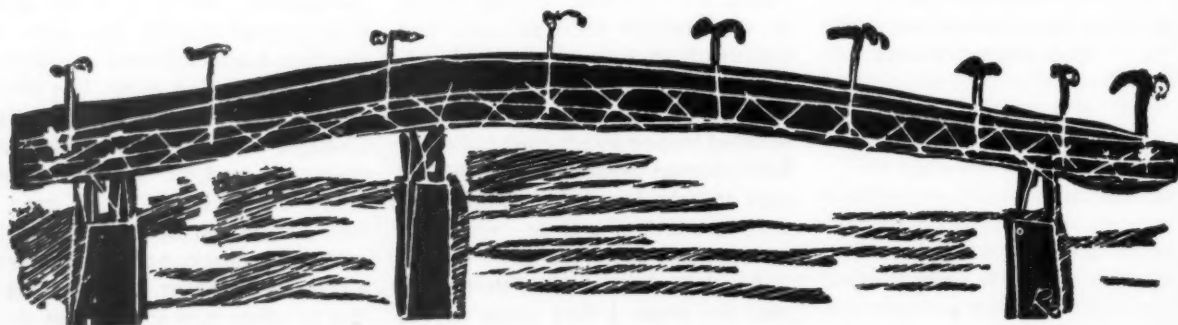
So a fellow gets used to the pace, and yet he's still conscious of being outside. He's not in the main stream of activity and inside knowledge at the plant or at the office. The people who are running the show seem to be very human and fallible when you stand next to them in the elevators. They're friendly enough, and what they say doesn't seem to indicate tremendous intellectual power. But there is some indefinable distance, some spaceless gap, between them and the fellows just getting into the game. Aware of one's own mistakes and lack of drive, aware of a new way to judge people by their long-term application and reliability, it is

still hard to see how the leaders are so friendly and yet so far away.

I don't know how to describe it, but maybe this will help. It's like standing on a street to watch a parade come by—the marchers are all aware of what they're doing and are confident of the location of the parade's end. But I'm not quite one of the marchers and yet not a spectator. I'm not on the street, the curb, or the sidewalk. I'm with a fringe that moves slowly and hesitantly between the parade and the watchers.

But you don't talk about things like that in the city. Maybe you could in some drugstore back home. Ha! the drugstores here have rows of counter seats and three people lined up in back of each one, all breathing over each other's shoulders so that each in turn can crouch there, wolf a sandwich and coke, and get back to the office.

LONELINESS gets to be so real you can almost touch it by this time. I remember one night in the spring the year after I had come to the city. The warm, moist air smelled of tree buds and new grass. I was walking on North Michigan Avenue after a movie I had seen by myself. The bright lights shining on the Wrigley Building reflected its white mass of masonry in the Chicago River as I paused on the Michigan Bridge. As I looked over the shining dark water and the shimmering reflection, I wondered if I would ever find a wife—if ever again I would



belong to a family—if ever a group of people would be tied to me by blood and association.

The lonely ocean wastes of the great city swept over me and pushed me under in that moment. Rhythmic buffets of loneliness washed against me . . . alone . . . alone . . . alone. And there I could be or was . . . in that dark and shining image fifty feet below me.

Well, I didn't know what to do, as my thoughts had never been so morbid. I wouldn't want to say this kind of thing to most people, I can tell you. Certainly, nobody at the office would want to hear about it. Nobody seems to care about your individual struggle to live when you're in the city. Maybe they do in the northern suburbs, but I know they don't in the South Side bungalows. I doubt if they do in the apartment-house streets on the West and North sides or in the severe and monotonous housing developments.

Girls, well. I tried, I really did. Some of the secretaries seemed to be willing to go out. But so many of them were so different in background. A lot of them were Roman Catholic and so different even from my Catholic friends back home. Another thing, they were either too pretty or had too high expectations about men, or else they were too eager for just any man, period. None of them seem to be simply friendly and relaxed. Of course, maybe I'm not that way either.

Someone suggested it had to do with where I lived. So I considered moving to the Near North Side. They have a lot of semifraternity, semiboarding-house places up there. Some of the men were eighteen or nineteen and some were thirty-nine or forty years old. All of them were bachelors, of course, though some had been married at one or another time. They were quite content to share a double or triple room. Very "joe-college," too, borrowing each other's tie and tennis rackets all the time. Trading information on the available women in the neighborhood. A kind of easygoing, undemanding life. A sort of permanent



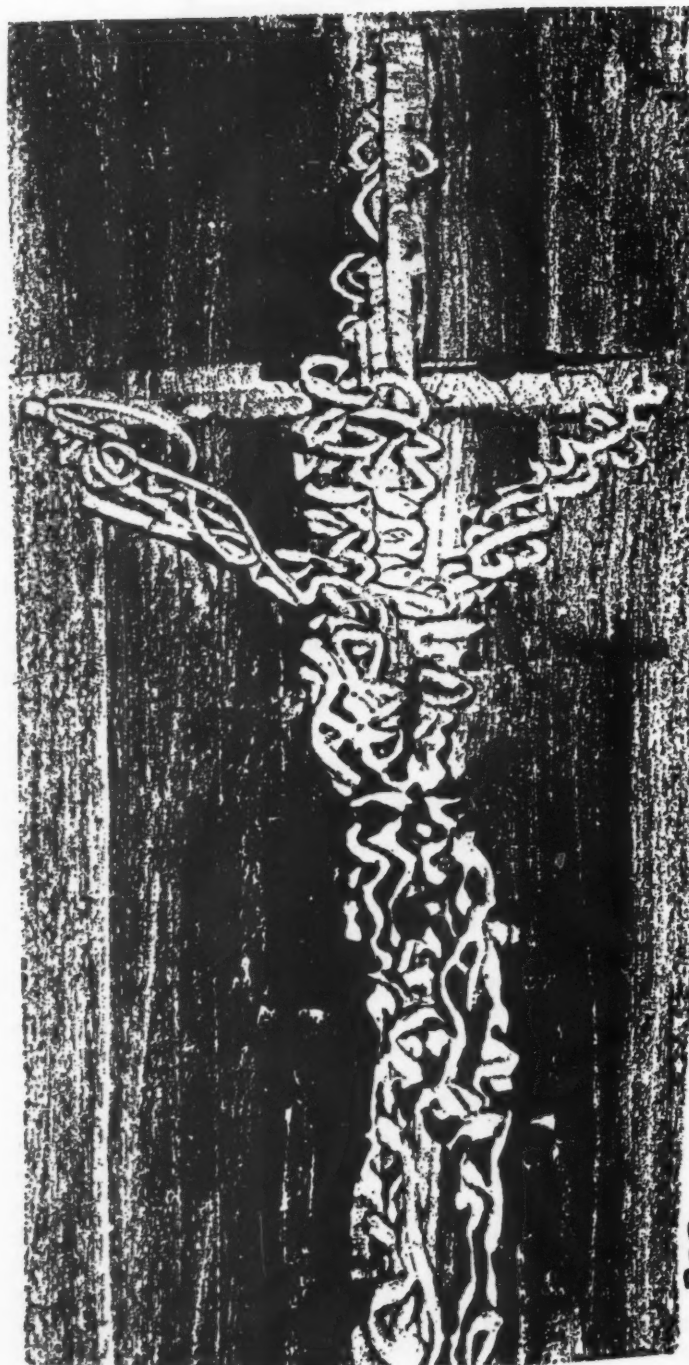
suitcase transiency for some of the older men.

I couldn't quite make up my mind to move there. I felt a real fear of becoming involved in the more useless and aimless parts of the Near North Side, while missing some of the finer and deeper possibilities. Because, you can't deny it, the most creative young writers, advertising men, painters, and executives do live there. But it didn't quite seem to be the home I was feeling for. It seemed narrow, for instance. There was no interest in each other's lives, and certainly their contacts with women were casual experiences. I guess this was the first time I saw the advantage of being married for its companionship (previously, I had evidently only been concerned about the unlimited sexual opportunities).

No, my ideas were vague and unreliable, but they included a need for friends, a neighborhood where I was

known and appreciated, a wife who was easy to talk with, a job that fulfilled personal needs for achievement and accomplishment.

I'M not sure whether I should stay here or go back to the smaller town, not sure whether I need a psychiatrist or a \$50-a-month raise, not sure whether I'm just giving up on the tough job of staying in the city. I don't want to be a coward, and yet maybe that's my trouble. Nothing in my life ever prepared me for this . . . this being at the end of a lot of schooling and work and now at such loose ends. Just alone and wondering "what the heck" in a great big anthill of people. Will I be wiser and more comfortable here when I'm thirty or forty, or will I be here then? I wonder if there are others like me. I wonder if anyone can help me and if I'll know when they're trying to do it. . . .



RCB

PEOPLE around the world are aware of recent sit-in demonstrations at lunch counters in the South. At least six issues are involved in the demonstrations.

The central drive in the demonstrations is toward justice. Justice in the literal sense of what is right. Negroes of the South know quite well that God, in his creation, and the Constitution of the United States, in its founding of a nation, have granted them full citizenship, freedom and dignity. Regional and local customs, state and local laws have hindered their full citizenship, denied their freedom, and often so slandered their personalities that the maintenance of dignity has been an almost impossible task. The problem now is how to achieve the justice to which the laws of God and of their nation entitle them.

The American principle of democracy under law is on the side of the Negro people in their efforts to achieve equality. The Christian principles of human equality and freedom under God are also on their side. Trite but false stereotypes concerning the Negro have left the white man comfortable with double standards of citizenship, morality and justice. The lunch-counter movement declares one standard of citizenship, of morality, and of justice for all.

There is a human issue, grounded in common sense. Stores of the South have welcomed the Negro customer, accepted his money, and even let him try on new clothes, and yet refused to serve him coffee at the lunch counter. Occasionally, a store has offered Negro customers segregated and quite inferior food facilities (for example, a small room,

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es in the sit-ins

BY JAMESON JONES

one table, with sandwiches and beverages out of vending machines). Rest rooms, where available for Negroes at all, are usually inferior to their counterparts for white customers. Often they are almost inaccessible, as when in a subbasement. Many Negro shoppers consciously regulate their hours in town, seeking to avoid a need for food or rest. Common sense would say that a people who spend so much, as Negro shoppers do, and are accepted as freely in clothing sections of a store, ought certainly to be accepted as freely where beverages and snacks are served. The Negro is tired of shopping on present terms, tired of waiting for a place to sit and get refreshment, tired of waiting for the changes to come.

So, the sit-in demonstrations began, with students asking for service at traditionally segregated lunch counters and restaurants. As a south-wide movement, it has spontaneity. Yet, there have been leaders in cities across the South who have spent months in anticipation of such a movement.

THE first major issue in the sit-in movement is *method*. As the Negro in the South has considered possibilities for social change, several methods present themselves. One is violent revolution, but fortunately it has never been seriously considered. The ballot box offers a legal and proper method of achieving change, but ballots are often denied to Negroes through illegal or highly questionable tactics, and when cast their effects are sometimes slight. (In the democratic primary in Nashville in early April, after sit-in demonstrations, Negro voters ex-

pressed a significant change of support by a four-to-one majority.) In recent years, the most effective and most generally accepted method has been that of going through the courts. In suits, test cases, and patient work on criminal cases, victory after victory has been won for the champions of human rights and equality. In a major way, such victories are due to the brilliance and legal skill of Negro attorneys whose devotion to the cause has pushed aside any thoughts of adequate financial compensation.

However, the sit-in movement has made nonviolence its method, and so has written a new chapter in American history. The basic idea is that orderly, well-dressed, quiet persons, who are disciplined and committed to the method, ask courteously for the service to which they feel entitled. When refused, they do not object. When called names, they keep quiet. When hit, they do not strike back. Even when hostile white youth pull hair and snuff out burning cigarettes on the backs of Negro girls, the girls do not retaliate. They pray and take what comes, in dignity. And even when the demonstrators (and not the attackers) are jailed, they sit quietly.

The method is old. Gandhi applied it on the largest scale in this century, and Martin Luther King and his associates pioneered in its application in this country, bringing changes to Montgomery, Alabama. After the events in Montgomery, its Negro leaders formed a Southern Christian Leadership Conference, offering guidance and resources to persons in the South who want to apply the method of nonviolent action in their own cities.

Nashville is an example of what happened. Over two years ago, several Negro ministers organized a Nashville Christian Leadership Council, independent of but affiliated with the larger southern group. The ministers met regularly, often only a handful, to talk about ways of achieving more freedom and equality in Nashville. They sponsored workshops on the method of nonviolence. They went in committees to ask store owners and managers to desegregate their lunch counters. Conversations and meetings with merchants brought only *no*, sometimes a hostile *no*, other times a courteous *no*, but still *no*. Attempts to negotiate were made again and again, but with no success. Then when sit-ins started in North Carolina, their example spread to students in Nashville, and the workshops and disciplined discussions of the Nashville Christian Leadership Council had already provided the philosophy and training in the method by which the students could proceed. The Nashville Christian Leadership Council is the leadership group, co-ordinating all efforts and organizing the Negro community in faith, in act, and in financial support of arrested students and of the whole movement.

Method is an issue, and many persons have disagreed with its philosophy, but few there are now who question its effectiveness.

THE second issue is that of *speed*. Many white persons recognize that changes are coming, and that lunch counters and other public facilities will be desegregated, and yet they say, not so fast. The Negro community includes many persons

willing to wait patiently for change, who without voicing their hurts or objections have lived as the dominant white community expected them to live. A small minority of people in the South resist all change, but most recognize that change is coming. The question is when, how fast.

Students in their sit-ins are saying quite clearly, "you're going too slow." Both to the whites in power and to the Negroes of their own community, they speak. Student leaders have called for direct action that will hasten the speed of change.

The third issue is that of *morality*. What is ethically right. What is just before God. Sin is a reality in the midst of human relations, not just in the South, but everywhere. Prejudice, discrimination, hatred are still flowing like great rivers. Student demonstrators are insisting that there is a moral issue before all people, both white and Negro. Prejudice and hatred are found among us all. Judgment is upon us all—for our evil thoughts, for our evil acts, for accepting the injustices of the *status quo*, for failing to speak when we could speak, for failing to live by the commands of God to love neighbor and give the cup of cold water to the thirsty one. All of us have responsibilities that the flowing rivers may be waters of justice and righteousness in all human relationships.

Merchants have responded differently to the problem of "morality." When interviewed by a committee about integrating lunch counters, one Nashville merchant said, "I agree that there is a moral issue, but we do not run our store according to moral issues. We run it by the cash register." Another manager told the committee that there is no moral issue, only an economic issue.

AND that is the fourth: *economics*. By and large, the merchants have stood together on the belief that to integrate lunch counters would mean economic losses for their

stores, and so they have refused to integrate. In Nashville, Negroes have responded according to economic beliefs of their own. They have declared that the merchants' business would actually increase after lunch counter integration, but lacking opportunity to prove their point, they have worked on another point: namely, that with segregated counters now, business will be worse than ever.

So, Negro professors and economists brought charts and statistics into mass meetings of Nashville Negroes, indicating that while Negroes do not provide the majority of business for downtown Nashville merchants, they do control the difference between profit and loss. Negroes began talking about "economic withdrawal from evil," recalling Old Testament verses about God himself withdrawing from his people (for example, see Hosea 5:6). They talked about stewardship, and a right use of possessions.

At one mass meeting in early March, an economist told how stores had been stocking merchandise for months, expecting it to sell in pre-Easter days. "Now," he said, "let them keep the stuff. I can't think of a single thing that a Nashville Negro needs to buy downtown between now and Easter except possibly new shoes for the growing feet of a child." Soon, Negroes were saying, we can hold on to our money long past Easter. By the first of April, Negro leaders said that their economic withdrawal was 90 per cent effective. And the manager of one variety store told a personal friend that his business was off 60 per cent. Only an occasional Negro was seen along Fifth Avenue, once Nashville's most crowded shopping street. Said a Negro economist: the vote by ballot and the vote by dollar are what the man downtown understands.

The question of economics may be difficult to answer, but in place after place, the balance of power is shifting. Negroes have discovered what difference their dollars make.

The issue most frequently dis-

cussed is that of *law*. When a merchant opens a place of business for the public, he must operate according to certain basic laws. English Common Law is part of the valid legal heritage of American law, its usage preceding written civil law by centuries. One of its ancient provisions is relevant to the present situation. Common Law, as it pertained specifically to innkeepers, declared that an innkeeper must serve any person who honestly sought his services and was willing to pay, so long as the person met basic requirements of decent dress, sober conduct, and general courtesy. This law was accepted as American law, until in certain sections of the country innkeepers and other merchants began to be concerned about the meaning of such a law about persons of minority racial groups. Then state and local laws arose,



motive

aimed directly at circumventing or thwarting the ancient law. Some Negro attorneys in the South believe that when cases of the lunch-counter type are brought through the court system, the verdict will be in terms of Common Law. Thus, a merchant opening his doors to the public cannot refuse any of the public who enter soberly with honest intentions of buying. Thus, what may appear to some as law because of local or state ordinances, may not be law at all. This the courts will decide.

However, confusion about the law becomes painfully obvious in the Nashville situation. There, no law exists that prohibits Negroes and whites from eating together in a restaurant; however, there is an administrative decision of the conservation commission forbidding owners to serve white and Negro customers together, but this is not law.

On the day of the first Nashville sit-ins, police told store managers they could not interfere unless there were incidents. The day before the next sit-ins, students talked with the chief of police about their plans, and were told that the only applicable law was a city ordinance concerning disorderly conduct. The merchants asked the mayor of Nashville to stop the sit-ins, and later the mayor said he told the merchants, "that in my opinion and after consultation with my attorneys, the opinion was that as long as their business was open to the public any member of the public had a right to come in and request service and I could not interfere with this right." The mayor also said that it was their opinion that the law is broken when anyone insists on remaining seated at lunch counters after they have been closed to all members of the public.

Nashville's students were arrested first on charges of loitering and disorderly conduct. In court, loitering charges were dropped immediately, and 79 students convicted for disorderly conduct. They have appealed. Later, the same students were ar-

rested again on charges of unlawful conspiracy to commit acts injurious to public trade and commerce. The validity of this law for the sit-in cases will depend on the court's interpretation of it and on the effectiveness of the students' defense against it. The students maintain that they did not intend to harm or disrupt business, but instead to increase it. They say they sat at the lunch counters to buy food, and not to stop anyone else from doing so.

THE real legal question is whether the owner of a private business inviting customers from the general public has a right to restrict parts of the public from the use of parts of his business. The precedent of Common Law, according to some attorneys, will necessitate a *no*. Others, emphasizing the private nature even of a public business, think they can win a *yes*.

The issue of law has nowhere been so sharply discussed as on the campus of Vanderbilt University, an independent and private school in Nashville. Its chancellor (president) is Harvie Branscomb, a New Testament scholar who was dean of the Divinity School of Duke University immediately before coming to Vanderbilt. He took a significant step forward, as a southern educator, in providing for the admission of Negro students to certain schools of the university.

One of the students accepted by the Vanderbilt Divinity School was James M. Lawson, Jr. For four years he was vice-president of the National Conference of Methodist Youth, then for three years was a missionary of The Methodist Church to India. He did three semesters of seminary work at Oberlin, then transferred to Vanderbilt. In addition to studying for a bachelor of divinity degree, he worked part time as southern regional secretary for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a national organization founded on religious principles for peacemaking among peoples and nations. Active in the formation of the Nashville Christian Leadership Council, Law-



son became projects chairman of the group. He is ordained a minister by the Lexington Conference of The Methodist Church. Professors and fellow students at Vanderbilt testify to his brilliance, his friendliness, his genuine warmth and depth. His wise and quiet counsel is as valuable in serious discussions as his excellent pitching arm on a softball field, and several no-hit games testify to the latter.

Immediately after Nashville's first major sit-ins, the mayor met with a large group of Negro ministers to discuss the situation. Jim Lawson summarized for the mayor what the ministers had been saying. When he spoke about the law, and their feelings about it, the mayor became quite agitated and said he hoped that he had misunderstood Lawson, and one or two in the group shouted that he had. But the mayor left the meeting in anger, and his version of what Lawson had said became the quoted version in the press and was the basis for Chancellor Branscomb's statement that Lawson was being expelled from Vanderbilt because of his announced program of deliberate violation of the law. And expelled from Vanderbilt he was—lacking only four hours of credit for completing his B.D. degree.

Lawson declared: "Under no circumstances have I ever made, or will I ever make, the categorical statement that students should violate

the law. These are not my words. Defiant violation of the law is a contradiction of my entire understanding of and loyalty to Christian nonviolence. When the Christian considers the concept of civil disobedience as an aspect of nonviolence, it is only within the context of a law or law enforcement agency which has in reality ceased to be the law, and then the Christian does so only in fear and trembling before God." Ministers in Nashville declare that Lawson did not say in the meeting what he has been quoted as saying. Lawson's point is that when the law ceases to be law, and is only a gimmick for the suppression of the Negro, then he would not restrain students from opposing it.

A LEAD editorial of *The Nashville Banner* charged Lawson with "out-Kaspering Kasper" and being "the ramrod of strife directed from the outside." The *Banner* charged him with "contemptuous challenge of civil authority" and "incitation to anarchy."

As it happened, the executive committee of the Vanderbilt University Board of Trust gathered the next day for a winter meeting to discuss financial matters. The committee discussed Nashville in general and James Lawson in particular. Participating as members of that executive committee were the president and publisher of the *Banner*, and the president of one of the large department stores where students had held demonstrations. The executive committee took action, without hearing from Lawson, without consulting the faculty of the Divinity School, most of whom promptly signed a strong statement protesting the action. (When Lawson was jailed on the conspiracy charge, the faculty quickly raised from their own pockets more than enough money to pay his \$500 bail fee.) Details of the expulsion are complicated, and we cannot here present even the major ones.

As this is written, April 8, Chancellor Branscomb still has never met Lawson personally or talked with



him about his role in Nashville events. Neither has Lawson ever received written word nor official notice of his expulsion. In the words of the *Christian Century*, "the administrative officers of the university have acted with indifference to the basic principles and best traditions of Anglo-American jurisprudence." The executive committee "received and accepted charges against Lawson, placed him on probation, issued him an unacceptable ultimatum which permitted no compromise, and arbitrarily expelled him. At no point was he permitted to defend himself before his judges and accusers or to select a representative who would do so in his behalf." The *Century* declares, "Chancellor Harvie Branscomb's rebuke of James Lawson as a participant in a campaign of mass disobedience of law was based on an assumption, not on fact. It has not been determined whether or not the sit-in demonstrators are violators of the law."

In late March, president of the Board of Trust Harold S. Vanderbilt wrote: "To date, no member of the board has either voiced disapproval of the action taken by the executive committee in the Lawson case or requested that a special meeting be called to reconsider the matter. Consequently, neither the chancellor nor I can see any justification for calling such a meeting but, in recognition of the right of appeal, the case will be placed on the agenda of the

regular spring meeting of the board, and an opportunity given to the members of the board to discuss it." That meeting is set for May 20-21.

AND now we come directly to the sixth issue related to the sit-in movement: the *university question*. The student movement in the churches has long realized the basic issue of the nature and meaning of a university, and the movement's discussions should have new relevance and depth. What is the task and function of a university? What is its relation to society and the culture around it—to be a mirror reflecting values and standards of society, or to be changer and transformer? What is the meaning of freedom, both for the institution itself and for the individual administrator, teacher or student?

In recent days, state institutions in the South have revealed how strong is the control of the state over their affairs. Witness incidents and attitudes at Negro schools in Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina. Private, church-related institutions in the same states have enjoyed a freedom that state schools seem not to know. In the minds of many, the opportunity to be prophetic, in the biblical sense, has given church-related schools a more understandable reason for being. Remember, however, that church-related schools and also independent schools like Vanderbilt must look to generous and devoted businessmen who provide both talents and money for the support of the institutions. As theologian Roger Shinn pointed out in *Christianity and Crisis*, businessmen and industry get only a portion of the gratitude they deserve. Yet, when those businessmen are given powers to control education beyond their own ability, or are permitted to make decisions without adequate time for study and consultation with faculty and responsible leaders, then, in Shinn's words, "higher education is in a desperate situation."

For the student Christian movement, there are real discussions ahead concerning the nature and

role of a university, both internally in its educational task, and externally in its relation to culture and the world at large. For educators, there are big questions concerning adequate financial support for institutions but without jeopardizing the freedom they must have for responsible and creative education.

Now, in haste, seven general comments concerning the present situation:

1. The method of nonviolent action has won wide approval as an effective and Christian approach to the problem of achieving social change. We will see more of it.

2. The Negro community in the South has dramatically presented the facts of its plight to the conscience of the white community. The meaning of second-class citizenship for Negroes is clearer now than ever before, and white people are taking a stand for justice and democracy in increasing numbers.

3. There is a new unity in the Negro community—more mature and authentic unity than ever before in history, some observers say. Mass meetings sponsored by the Nashville Christian Leadership Council are filling churches with a genuine cross section of Negro people—laborers and maids, merchants and office workers, professors and doctors, students and the retired. They are together.

4. The Negro community has demonstrated once again the power of a committed minority. Spiritually, economically, politically, they have power and will use it with increasing effectiveness. Some Negroes are surprised at their power, as are many whites, but it is evident.

5. There is a new leadership among Negroes, largely represented by younger adults, vocal, mature, intelligent and well educated, well disciplined and deeply committed. Martin Luther King and James Lawson, both in their early thirties, are examples of this leadership.

6. Students have played a significant role. With courage and prophetic insight, they have made

their witness as they saw fit. Often against the wishes or direct orders of their parents. Largely, these witnessing students have been Negroes, but joined by small numbers of white students. White student groups on southern campuses have supported the demonstrators. The support of James Lawson among divinity students at Vanderbilt has been notable. Outside the South, students on many campuses have acted in support of the southern movement, and related questions have come to life on nonsouthern campuses. A southern California campus had a "stand-up" demonstration, when students on campus stood for their meals to express sympathy with southern sit-ins. The student faculty assembly at Boston University passed legislation outlawing discriminatory clauses in constitutions of social organizations. Also in the east, a fraternity house president resigned when the house

refused to take a more liberal stand on its membership practices, specifically when it approved and then withdrew bids to three Negroes and two Jewish men. As James Lawson writes in this magazine, the so-called "silent generation" has just been waiting for the right time to speak.

7. The movement in the South operates from a Christian base. Ministers and churches are the key.

In sermon and hymn, in scripture and prayer, there is a proclamation of the gospel of love and reconciliation among men whom God has made. There is a vitality of faith and witness that reveals power, born not of hatred or envy, but of love and concern that all men might be free under God to live and eat in harmony together. The story is not yet over, and will not be over, until their vision of a kingdom of God, so fervently proclaimed, is at last made real.





THE "sit-in" movement has leaped from campus to campus, until today hardly any campus remains unaffected. At the beginning of this decade, the student generation was "silent," "uncommitted," or "beatnik." But after only four months, these analogies largely used by adults appear as hasty clichés which should not have been used in the first place. The rapidity and drive of the movement indicates that all the while American students were simply waiting in suspension; waiting for that cause, that ideal, that event, that "actualizing of their faith" which would catapult their right to speak powerfully to their nation and world.

The witness of enthusiastic, but mature young men and women, audacious enough to dare the intimidations and violence of racial injustice, a witness not to be matched by any social effort either in the his-

tory of the Negro or in the history of the nation, has caused this impact upon us. In his own time, God has brought this to pass.

But as so frequently happens, these are enigmatic moments. Enigmatic, for like man in every age who cannot read the signs of the times, many of us are not able to see what appears before us, or hear what is "spoken" from lunch-counter stools, or understand what has been felt behind jail cell bars.

Already the paralysis of talk, the disobedience of piety, the frustration of false ambition, and the insensitiveness of an affluent society yearn to diffuse the meaning and flatten the thrust of America's first major nonviolent campaign.

One great university equates the movement to simply another student fad similar to a panty raid, or long black stockings. Many merchants, zealously smothering their Negro

customers with courtesy for normal services, anticipated an early end to the unprecedented binge. Certainly no southern white person and few Negroes expected the collegiates to face the hoses, jails, mobs and tear gas with such dignity, fearlessness, and nonviolence. In fact, under any normal conditions, the mere threat of the law was sufficient to send the Negro scurrying to his ghetto. Even astute race reporters accentuate the protest element as the major factor.

Amid this welter of irrelevant and superficial reactions, the primary motifs of the movement, the essential message, the crucial issue raised are often completely missed. So the Christian student who has not yet given his support or mind to the movement might well want to know what the issue is all about. Is it just a lot of nonsense over a hamburger? Or is it far more?

To begin, let us note what the issue is not. Many people of good will, especially Methodists and Nashvillians, have considered my expulsion from Vanderbilt University and the self-righteousness of the press attack as the focus of attention. But nothing could be further from the truth. The expulsion, three months before the completion of the bachelor of divinity degree, drastically alters certain immediate personal plans. The press attack tended to make me a symbol of the movement. But such incidents illustrate an ancient way of escaping an existential moment.

Police partiality is not the issue. Nashville has been considered one of those "good" cities where racial violence has not been tolerated. Yet, on a Saturday in February, the mystique of yet another popular myth vanished. For only police permissiveness invited young white

M A LUNCH-COUNTER STOOL

BY JAMES M. LAWSON, JR.

men to take over store after store in an effort to further intimidate or crush the "sit-in." Law enforcement agents accustomed to viewing crime, were able to mark well-dressed students waiting to make purchases, as loitering on the lunch-counter stools, but they were unable even to suspect and certainly not to see assault and battery. Thus potential customers, quietly asking for service, are disorderly, breaching the peace, exciting riots, while violent, swaggering, villifying, defiant white teenagers are law-abiding. The police of the nation have always wreaked brutality upon minority groups. So our Nashville experience is nothing new, or even unexpected. We hold nothing against these hard-pressed officers. Such partiality, however, is symptomatic of the diagnosis only. An inevitable by-product, another means of avoiding the encounter. But the "sit-in" does not intend to make such partiality the issue.

ALREADY many well-meaning and notable voices are seeking to define the problem in purely legal terms. But if the students wanted a legal case, they had only to initiate a suit. But not in a single city did the movement begin in this fashion. No one planned to be arrested or desired such. The legal battles which will be fought as a consequence of many arrests never once touch on the matter of eating where you normally shop, or on segregation *per se*.

The false use of local laws requires new legal definitions which can only be made in the courts, under the judgment of the Constitution of the United States. Old laws and ordinances originally written to hamper labor have been revived to

stop or crush the "sit-in"; disorderly conduct codes which could be used against almost every conceivable peaceful demonstration; conspiracy to block trade charges. Obviously these have no relation to the Bill of Rights and are but gimmicks designed to impede civil liberty.

Let us admit readily that some of the major victories gained for social justice have come through the courts, especially the Supreme Court, while other branches of government were often neglecting their primary function to sustain the American experiment. The Negro has been a law-abiding citizen as he has struggled for justice against many unlawful elements.

But the major defeats have occurred when we have been unable to convince the nation to support or implement the Constitution, when a court decision is ignored or nullified by local and state action. A democratic structure of law remains democratic, remains lawful only as the people are continuously persuaded to be democratic. Law is always nullified by practice and disdain unless the minds and hearts of a people sustain law.

When elements of good will called for law and order during the crisis in Little Rock, their pleas fell on deaf ears. In many sections of the country where law no longer sustains and enforces segregation, the segregation persists because it is etched upon the habits of mind and emotions of both Negro and white. Separate but equal in transportation has by the Supreme Court been judged as impossible and unconstitutional. Yet in many cities like Nashville the buses more or less remain segregated. Both Negro and white sustain the custom because their basic inner attitudes and fears re-

main unchanged. Eventually our society must abide by the Constitution and not permit any local law or custom to hinder freedom or justice. But such a society lives by more than law. In the same respect the "sit-in" movement is not trying to create a legal battle, but points to that which is more than law.

FINALLY, the issue is not integration. This is particularly true for the person oriented to the Christian faith. Certainly the students are asking in behalf of the entire Negro community and the nation that these eating counters become places of service for all persons. But it would be extremely short-sighted to assume that integration is the problem or the word of the "sit-in." To the extent to which the movement reflects deep Christian impulses, desegregation is a necessary next step. But it cannot be the end. If progress has not been at a genuine pace, it is often because the major groups seeking equal rights tactically make desegregation the end and not the means.

The Christian favors the breaking down of racial barriers because the redeemed community of which he is already a citizen recognizes no barriers dividing humanity. The kingdom of God, as in heaven so on earth, is the distant goal of the Christian. That kingdom is far more than the immediate need for integration.

Having tried to dispel the many smoke screens spewed to camouflage the purpose and intent of the "sit-in," let me now try as carefully as possible to describe the message of our movement. There are two facets to that message.

In the first instance, we who are related to the movement are trying



to raise what we call the "moral issue." That is, we are pointing to the viciousness of racial segregation and prejudice and calling it evil or sin. The matter is not legal, sociological nor racial, it is moral and spiritual. Until America (South and North) honestly accepts the sinful nature of racism, this cancerous disease will continue to eat away at all of us.

For many years Negroes and whites have pretended that all is well. "We have good race relations." A city like Nashville has acquired national fame about its progress in desegregation. Yet when the "sit-ins" began, the underlying hatred and sin burst to the surface. A police department with a good reputation for impartiality swiftly became the tool of the disease always there. A mayor, elected with overwhelming Negro support, made the decisions which permitted mob rule. If Nashville had "good race relations," why did such violence explode? The fact is that we were playing make-believe—that we were good. All the while Negro and white by pretension, deliberate cooperation and conscious attitudes shared in such a deluded world.

The South and the entire nation are implicated in the same manner.

True, there has been progress. For example, physical lynching has virtually disappeared. A real psychological lynching continues unabated—persons are violated as victims and absolutely stripped of human traits; depersonalized. This kind of lynching goes on every day even while we make-believe that all lynching is a phenomenon of the past. The masses of people, including most moderates of both races, are glibly indifferent.

THE nonviolent movement would convict us all of sin. We assert, "Segregation (racial pride) is sin. God tolerates no breach of his judgment. We are an unhealthy people who contrive every escape from ourselves." Thus a simple act of neatly dressed, nonviolent students with purchases in their pockets, precipitated anger and frustration. Many "good" people (white and Negro) said, "This is not the way. We are already making adequate progress." Nonsense! No progress is adequate so long as any man, woman or child of any ethnic group is still a lynch victim.

That the nonviolent effort has convicted us of sin, and thus appealed to consciences is attested by the new-found unity and direction now established in Negro communities in places like Durham and Nashville. Witness further the many white people who say, "I never thought the problem was so serious. I feel so ashamed." Many of these people now support the movement.

In the second instance, the nonviolent movement is asserting, "get moving. The pace of social change is too slow. At this rate it will be at least another generation before the major forms of segregation disappear. All of Africa will be free before the American Negro attains first-class citizenship. Most of us will be grandparents before we can live normal human lives."

The choice of the nonviolent method, "the sit-in," symbolizes both judgment and promise. It is a judgment upon middle-class conventional, half-way efforts to deal

with radical social evil. It is specifically a judgment upon contemporary civil rights attempts. As one high-school student from Chattanooga exclaimed, "We started because we were tired of waiting for adults to act."

THE "sit-in" is likewise a sign of promise: God's promise that if radically Christian methods are adopted the rate of change can be vastly increased. This is why nonviolence dominates the movement's perspective. Under Christian nonviolence, Negro students reject the hardship of disobedient passivity and fear, but embrace the hardship of violence and jail. Such nonviolence strips the segregationist power structure of its major weapon: the manipulation of law or law-enforcement to keep the Negro in his place.

Furthermore, such an act attracts, strengthens and sensitizes the support of many white persons in the South and across the nation. (The numbers who openly identify themselves with the "sit-in" daily grow.)

Nonviolence in the Negro's struggle gains a fresh maturity. And the Negro gains a new sense of his role in molding a redeemed society. The "word" from the lunch-counter stool demands a sharp reassessment of our organized evil and a radical Christian obedience to transform that evil. Christian nonviolence provides both that reassessment and the faith of absolute obedience. The extent to which the Negro joined by many others apprehends and incorporates nonviolence determines the degree that the world will acknowledge fresh social insight from America.



two american painters

BY MARGARET RIGG

BEN SHAHN

WITH great and moving compassion Ben Shahn paints the world around him. He is a socially conscious artist with deep convictions about social action, politics and human need. He comes close to being the kind of social realist painter that Diego Rivera was in Mexico. But he is not a propagandist in the same way, and though he paints "Americana" he transcends the pitfalls of a nationalist art.

Shahn was born in Russia in 1898, and came to the United States in 1906 when he was eight years old. He grew up in Brooklyn and worked during high school as a lithographer's assistant. He attended New York University and later City College of New York and finally changed to National Academy of Design in 1922. He went to Europe in 1925 and again in 1927, this time for a longer stay. During that European stay he soaked up the wealth of art there. Rouault's work impressed him deeply, the Florentine School influenced him too. Slowly he began to feel his way toward a style of his own. And, important for his work, he took up photography. In later years many of his paintings were to have that classic arrested motion so often seen in the finest photography.

After Europe he settled in New England and at thirty-two began his career as a painter. Shahn did a series of paintings on the Sacco-Vanzetti murder trials which dragged on from 1920 until the execution of two men in 1927. In the midst of taut emotions across the nation and world over this murder case Ben Shahn quietly painted a series of works remarkable for both their restraint and depth. Looking at these paintings today, long after the cause has been forgotten, one can still feel the intense and profound understanding. Shahn portrayed the people involved with a universal dimension.

In 1933 Diego Rivera saw the Sacco-Vanzetti paintings on exhibition in New York and hired Shahn as an assistant for mural work. During this time Shahn was also influenced by photographers Cartier-Bresson and Walker Evans. And then Shahn began noticing America's public typography of billboards, printed slogans, posters and advertisements. These later went into his paintings.

In 1935 until 1938 Ben Shahn worked for the Farm Security Administration as an artist and photographer. This involved travel to all parts of the United States, especially to the blighted areas of the Southeast and Midwest. Photographs he took in those years supplied him with a vast amount of resource material for later paintings. But there has never been any slavish use of photography as a crutch for his paintings. Shahn has a natural emotional warmth in his paintings which makes the compositions moving and vital. Faces and figures are actually quite distorted but in looking at the total picture one has the feeling of experienced reality—the faces, hands, feet and arrested gestures make an impact on the viewer which is both emotional and psychological.

Critic James Thrall Soby notes how Shahn makes use of this distortion to emphasize reality when he says that Shahn often presents his pictures "as if viewed through one end of a telescope or the other. His figures loom large and near, or are dwarfed by an intervening space which emphasizes their emotional segregation, their peculiarly American loneliness."

SHAHN has always been sensitive to both the inner and outer world of man but he narrows the universal down to the particular. "American Loneliness" is thus seen in such paintings as *Fourth of July Orator*

and *Nearly Everybody Reads the Bulletin* as particular people. Shahn also uses a backdrop of architecture which sets the mood and stage for the message as in *The Church Is the Union Hall* and *Italian Landscape, II*.

Shahn has never given up the human element. This fact sets him apart from most New York artists of today.

In almost every way Shahn is the opposite of the current well-publicized Action Painters or Abstract Expressionist painters. While he does not sacrifice his integrity for the sake of direct communication the business of getting his message across to the public is an important part of his life as an artist.

HENRY KOERNER

IN Koerner's paintings that are rich with human figures there is also a level of symbolism which is both fantastic and distorted but handled in such a way as to suggest social realism at first glance.

Like Ben Shahn, Koerner has turned away from Abstract Expressionism and kept his style centered in the human situation. In the last ten years his work has gained wide recognition but has grown less powerful and more academic in quality. *Time* magazine employs him to do covers often and commercialization of his work has been carried into much of his personal painting. His earlier work, however, and even his present drawings, contain the kind of force that gives his work real importance and individuality.

Henry Koerner's analysis of the world around him is earthy at times, surrealistic, often prophetic. Where Shahn is impassioned by a human cause Koerner is united with the human lot more distantly as an observer to a strange and mysterious real-dream world.

At first it is tempting to call Koerner a realist until the paintings and drawings are more closely studied. Again, as with Shahn, there is powerful use of distortion. In some works this distortion even becomes caricature. *Vanity Fair* achieves the same sort of grim and probing kind of caricature seen in works by Daumier, Brueghel, or Peter Blume. With such a picture as *Vanity Fair* it is not simply the telling of a story; a parable is given perhaps but not a story. *The Prophet* suggests a warning and is very different from the feeling present in Shahn's *India*. *The Prophet* carries all the urgency of Jeremiah.

The Sea is like a tableau; a fragment of human drama is being played out before us in the midst of indifference, idle curiosity, disdain and unawareness. The surrealistic qualities are as evident here as in the painting, *The Barber*. There is the use of a sharp, realistic technique but the paintings nevertheless contain

IN Ben Shahn's own words, "The artist, perhaps more than the grocer or the iceman, is natively inclined to try to peer into the truth of things. In a way, it might be said that he has a vested interest in truth. It is his business to present to the world new aspects of reality. Thus, in developing his own outlook, in clarifying his beliefs, in creating his own style of work, his significant imagery, he must constantly seek wider understanding. He has to know what he thinks in order to communicate to others.

"It is the mission of art to remind man from time to time that he is human, and the time is ripe, just now, today, for such a reminder." ¹

¹ Ben Shahn, at the University of Buffalo, 1951. Quoted from *Masters of Modern Art* edited by Alfred H. Barr, Jr., Museum of Modern Art publication, 1954.

the dreamlike quality of unreality. This is also true of *The Junk Yard*. And in *The Pond*, again something is going on but one is not sure what. At first these works seem obvious but the longer one looks the more mysterious the scenes become; questions begin to arise; doubts and suggestions from personal experience or imagination.

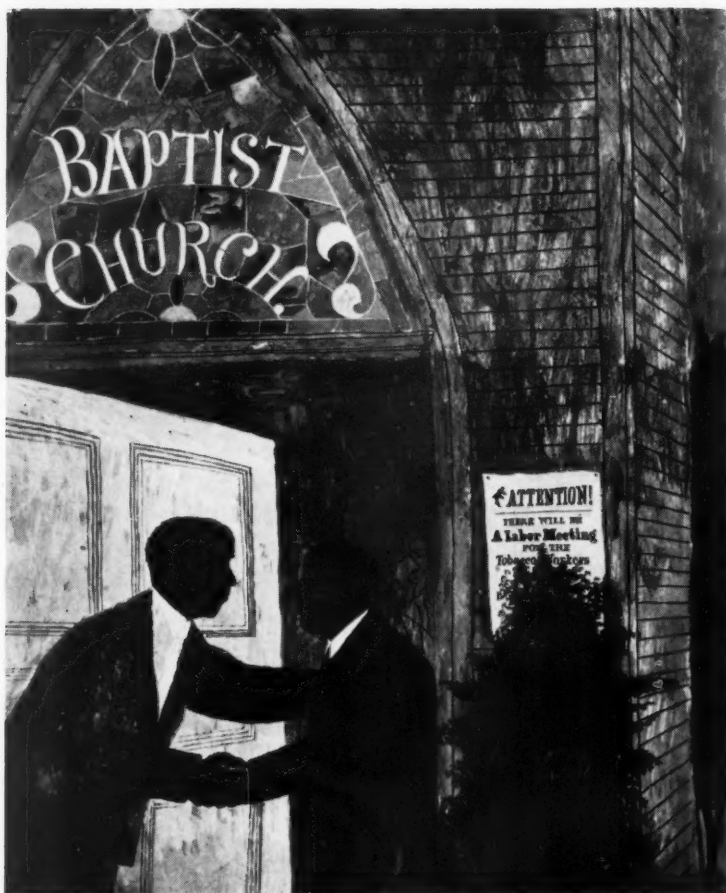
IT is in Koerner's drawings that we see the foundation for the kind of strength which shows in his best paintings. Both Koerner and Shahn know how to draw and drawing is the backbone of their work. Through the drawings is seen the instant readiness of the artist's eye for a chance composition, a vignette from life, a telling little commentary on life. And when these observations are enlarged into paintings they contain power for communication. For Koerner painting is a means of expressing truth and giving a message. Many artists today are very self-conscious about any message in their work, in spite of the fact that one of the main functions of art has always been to give a message. Both Koerner and Shahn have kept this central in their work, and have chosen to keep it central by the use of human figures.

And like Ben Shahn, Henry Koerner is a foreign-born American. He came to the United States in 1938 as a refugee from Vienna. He settled in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where at 44 he makes his living at painting and teaching.

In these two painters' work America can see itself in its provincialism and pathos, in its corruption and richness, in its commonness and uniqueness. Ben Shahn and Henry Koerner represent a great tradition in painting vastly different from the dynamic abstract school yet equally as valid and meaningful in our time.



BEN SHAHN, HUNGER, tempera, 26"x40", Downtown Gallery, N.Y.



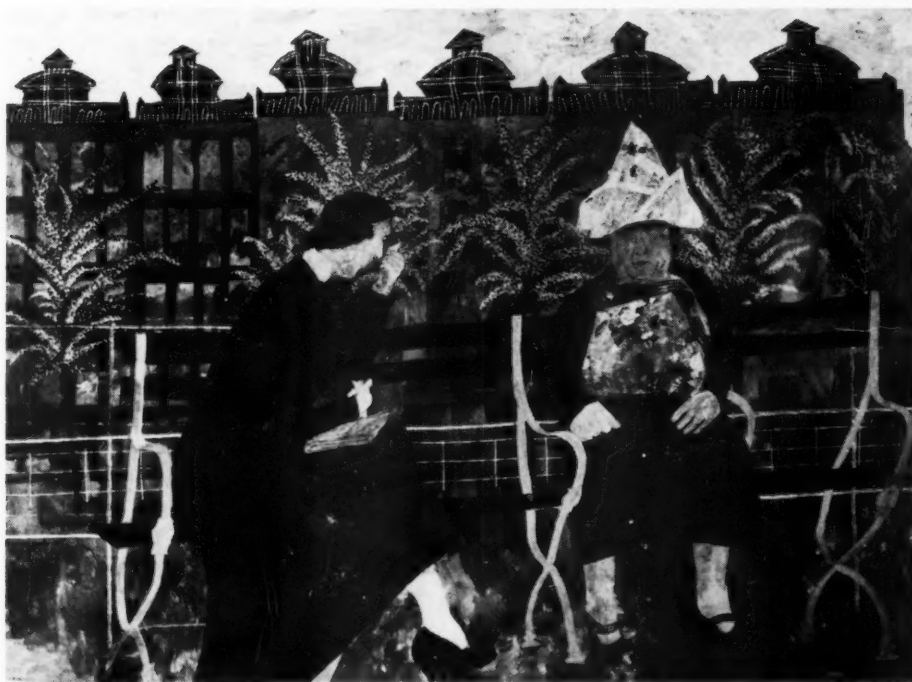
BEN SHAHN, THE CHURCH IS THE UNION HALL, 1946
16"x20", Downtown Gallery, N.Y.



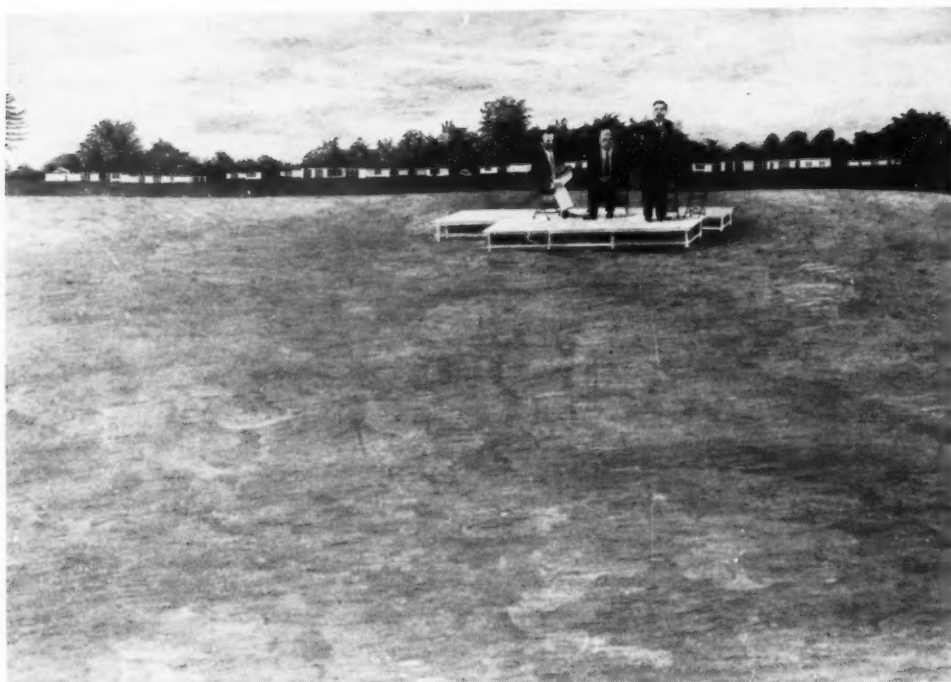
BEN SHAHN, ITALIAN LANDSCAPE No. 2, 1944, 30 1/2"x27 1/2", Downtown Gallery, N.Y.



BEN SHAHN, INDIA, 1944, 36"x20", Downtown Gallery, N.Y.



BEN SHAHN, NEARLY EVERYBODY READS THE BULLETIN, 1946, 30"x22", Downtown Gallery, N.Y.



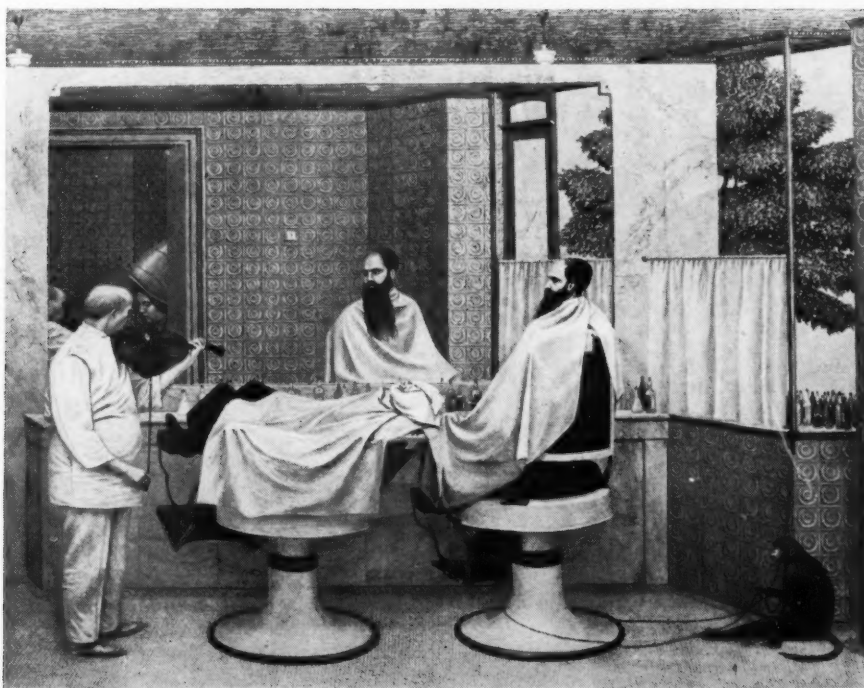
BEN SHAHN, FOURTH OF JULY ORATOR, 1943, 30"x22", Downtown Gallery, N.Y.



BEN SHAHN, HANDBALL, 1939, Museum of Modern Art, N.Y.



BEN SHAHN, THE RED STAIRWAY, 1945, City Art Museum, St. Louis



HENRY KOERNER, THE BARBER, 1950, Midtown Galleries, N.Y.



HENRY KOERNER, THE JUNK YARD, 1949, Midtown Galleries, N.Y.



HENRY KOERNER, THE SEA, 1951, Midtown Galleries, N.Y.



HENRY KOERNER, THE PROPHET, 1946, Midtown Galleries, N.Y.

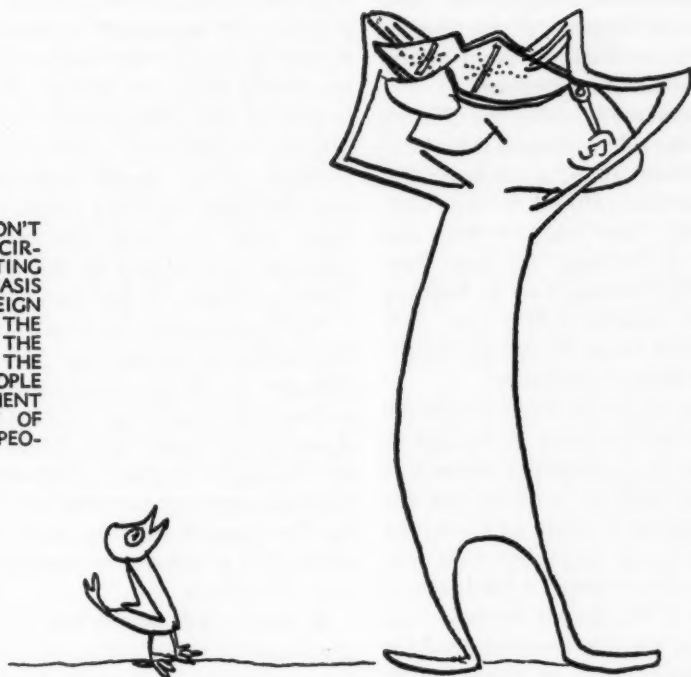


HENRY KOERNER, VANITY FAIR, 1948, Midtown Galleries, N.Y.



HENRY KOERNER, BIRDLAND, 1953, Midtown Galleries, N.Y.

"WHAT YOU DON'T KNOW WON'T HURT YOU" MAY UNDER SOME CIRCUMSTANCES BE A COMFORTING THOUGHT. IT IS, HOWEVER, NO BASIS ON WHICH TO BUILD A FOREIGN POLICY. YET FOR TEN YEARS, SINCE THE CHINESE CIVIL WAR ENDED WITH THE COMMUNISTS IN CONTROL OF THE MAINLAND, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN LARGELY IGNORANT OF WHAT IS HAPPENING INSIDE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.



myths about communist china

BY JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

WE do not maintain diplomatic relations with China; we have not worked out any agreement for American newspaper correspondents to visit or travel in that country; nor are American citizens or even members of Congress permitted to travel there.

In large part as a result of this policy but also as a rationale for it a number of myths about China have received currency in this country which are not widely shared by our friends in other countries who are as opposed to communism as are we.

The first of these myths is the idea that the government of Red

China does not have the support of the Chinese people. In evaluating this it is well to remember that in an 18-month period beginning in 1951, the communists liquidated their more dangerous opponents. Estimates range between 800,000 and 14 million "class enemies" landlords and "imperialist agents" who were executed. Others, especially intellectuals and businessmen were browbeat or brainwashed into acceptance of the communist program. From that time until the present, refugees have fled into Hong Kong at risk of their lives. One report from Hong Kong revealed

that there have been at least four armed revolts in the largely Moslem northwest province of Kansu.

Yet in 1956 when Mao Tze-tung encouraged the public, through the principle of letting a "hundred flowers bloom," to air its grievances openly, there was not sufficient general opposition to lead to any widespread executions. There is still a great deal of dissatisfaction but most observers also report a great deal of enthusiasm on the part of many peasants, workers and intellectuals for the achievements that have resulted in better health and security for the individual and

greater prestige for their nation.

It is, of course, difficult to tell whether the Chinese people are enthusiastically or reluctantly giving their consent to the communist regime or whether their feelings are mixed. What we can say is that there is sufficient support for the government that it does not seem in any danger of being overthrown.

A second myth is that the Chinese communist rule will crack if we keep the pressure on. As a result of this myth we have refused to trade with China and have tried to keep our allies from trading. We have kept the military pressure on in Formosa and have steadily built a ring of alliances and bases on China's southern and eastern perimeter.

If there were any evidence of such great internal tension as to lead us to believe the communist regime was likely to crack or crumble, our approach was not calculated to encourage the crack. Is it not true that when any government is hard pressed because of the dissatisfaction of its people, it has the greatest need for an external enemy to blame for its problems. It can use that external enemy to stir up the patriotism that runs deeper than political dissatisfactions, a patriotism that makes people ready to give up their rights and freedoms and to undergo incredible sacrifice. An external enemy also makes it easier, as we discovered in the McCarthyist period, to find a pretext for discrediting dissenters and their friends as agents of a foreign power.

China has used our enmity in just such a fashion. We are accused of occupying Formosa and as having seized Chinese territory instead of merely protecting the Nationalists. The Nationalists and their mainland sympathizers are thus called not principled opponents of communism but lackeys of American imperialism.

OUR policy of pressure, far from causing Chinese communism to crack, has forced it into even greater dependence on the Soviet Union. At the moment when Poland

had achieved a measure of freedom, when the Hungarian revolt was symptomatic of dissatisfaction in Eastern Europe, and Titoism seemed to be spreading, it was the Chinese who launched the campaign against Titoism. It was also the Chinese who pushed and persuaded a reluctant Poland to accept the leadership of the Soviet Union in foreign affairs instead of the neutralism that characterized Yugoslavia. Faced with our pressure, China clearly understood that she must rely on a military alliance with the USSR and on the cohesion and solidity of the entire communist bloc for her own safety.

But beyond this we must admit that when our armies were fighting Chinese in Korea there was no evidence of a crack-up in China and there is none today. Even the author of this myth, Walter S. Robertson, formerly assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern Affairs, now concedes that a collapse of communist rule is unlikely.

A third myth which has in it a great deal of truth holds that China is one gigantic labor camp, that the government has driven and coerced unwilling peasants into giant communes where family life is being destroyed and the people are being brutally exploited. It is true that approximately 520,000,000 peasants have been organized into 26,000 communes. This was possible in the first place, because extermination of the landlords and rich peasants in 1951 undermined the previous rural structure and gave the land to the peasants. Then in 1953 by a process of deception and persuasion peasants were told they would retain title to their land if they would form mutual aid groups so as to pool their tools and animals and help each other in planting and harvesting. Two years later party groups or cadres visited the peasants to persuade them they should form larger cooperatives and elect a management committee to plan and supervise work. In 1956, when still larger cooperatives were formed, the peasants lost all title to their land and to any earnings based

on the land. This was accomplished through the elected management committees who were for the most part zealous and thoroughly indoctrinated young communists. Yet this development, too, was brought about as a result of visits from many party cadres who talked and persuaded. James S. Duncan, a Canadian observer, has described the program in these words:

Following the party's policy, violence is never used. Persuasion and a recognition of the inevitable constitute the approach, and the function of the cadres is to help the peasants realize that the communal life is the one which will lead them readily to higher production . . . and ultimately higher living standards. . . .¹

By this process there was a gradual movement from land distribution to peasants, to small and then larger cooperatives, and finally to the very large commune.

In some respects it is true that the old Chinese family has been destroyed, for this is inevitable where people sleep in barracks, eat in dining halls and put their children in nurseries while the mothers work. The old folks who lived with and were the cornerstone of the patriarchal family system have been put in "Happiness Homes."

Dr. Joseph Needham of Cambridge University and one of the world's leading authorities on China has written that it is easy for a Westerner to misunderstand what is happening. If Westerners

had had any experience of the slavery of the Chinese woman throughout the ages to the charcoal or brushwood stove and the primitive water supply, they would understand that the cooperative farm or works restaurant and the public baths today seem more like a heaven on earth to millions. . . .²

He added: "Emancipation of women to follow careers . . . is one of the most remarkable features of present-day China."

Yet this picture must be balanced by a recognition that the communes grew out of a tradition and a background of need that necessarily mean

¹ THE PROGRESSIVE, October, 1959, p. 18.
² MONTHLY REVIEW, February, 1959, p. 374.

a harsher life in some respects. The tradition behind the communist mess halls, the mobile units who camp out at work projects 60 to 100 miles from their commune base, and the rest of the regimented life is the tradition of the long civil war when military communism involved both fighting and production by a self-sufficient army which lived off the country. The need comes from the fact that China is seeking to build an industrial economy and has to get capital from somewhere. Russia doesn't supply enough. The capital therefore has to come from the sweat and toil of peasants, from longer hours and year-round work. When the peasants aren't needed to raise crops, whole armies of them are digging canals, draining swamps, reforestation, and building dams. In such great labor armies there is both persuasion and coercion, mass enthusiasm and mass exploitation. Within each of the large unarmed labor armies are smaller armed units whose purpose according to a Party paper is to "encourage the forward march of production . . . on a combat basis."

Joseph Clark, in his book *Impatient Giant: Red China Today*, after noting the overwork and other exploitation insists that "it would be utterly ridiculous to assume that the great majority of Chinese . . . are secretly or fervently awaiting liberation. It would be nearer the facts," he asserts, "to say that by and large communism has been embraced, especially . . . by the young people" (p. 183).

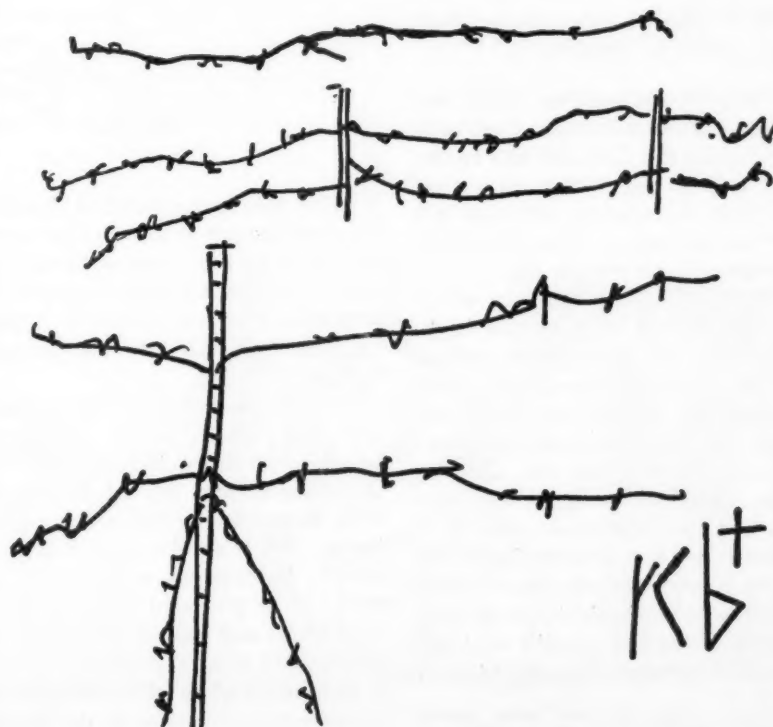
A FOURTH myth is the idea that we can't let China enter the United Nations after her aggression in Korea and her shelling of Quemoy and Matsu, for that would mean that she would be shooting her way into the United Nations. In examining this assertion let us remember the events of 1950 after the war in Korea started and before the Chinese came in. President Truman ordered the Seventh Fleet in June, 1950, to patrol the Formosa Straits, thus

openly protecting and aiding one side in the Chinese civil war. Shortly thereafter, Admiral Radford put the Seventh Fleet under command of General MacArthur who was commander-in-chief in Korea. To the Chinese it seemed as if the action in Korea and the Formosa Straits had been unified because the real enemy in both areas was the Chinese. In July, 1950, Vice-Admiral Struble of the Seventh Fleet publicly backed the Nationalist view that, contrary to Truman's request for no Nationalist action against the mainland, some action is needed to hold their outposts on the China coast. He was reported in the *New York Times* as approving reconnaissance planes flying over the mainland. Red China then began shelling Quemoy and occupied the Pearl River islands. The Nationalist Air Force followed by bombing the Chinese mainland near Quemoy. This act was justified by a State Department Aide who said the United States did not preclude de-

fensive air attacks by the Nationalists.

Meanwhile, General MacArthur visited Formosa and on August 2 Chiang Kai-shek announced that he and MacArthur had agreed on a basis for military cooperation and joint defense of Formosa. This was followed by India, Britain and France dissociating themselves from United States action on Formosa. On August 22 the Premier of Communist China, Chou En-lai, in a note to the U. N. Security Council charged that United States action on Formosa was an effort to enlarge the Korean War.

With the background of these events and the Chinese communist conviction that our Formosan action against them was an extension of our Korean policy, let us try to imagine their reaction to the approach of American armies toward the Yalu River, the border between Korea and China. The nearest I can come to this in my imagination is to assume that Chinese or Russian



May 1960

troops had landed in Southern Mexico and were rapidly approaching the Rio Grande. Would we wait until they had reached the Rio Grande, knowing that if they crossed the fighting would take place on Texas soil, or would our troops move into Mexico to fight there? To ask the question is to answer it. We would act in this respect much the same as the Chinese did.

After the Chinese had invaded Korea and a stalemate had been produced, Dulles thought the Chinese would be more ready to agree to a reasonable truce in Korea if they were to feel that Chiang might actually get American support for a mainland invasion. This was the rationale for both propaganda and action in the Formosa vicinity. Even earlier, in 1950, there had been a series of commando-type raids on the mainland from Quemoy and the Tachens. These raids which were sometimes mounted in battalion strength were organized by Western Enterprises, Inc.—a cover name for our Central Intelligence Agency activities in the area. It organized and equipped the Nationalists who raided the mainland and until 1954, according to Stewart Alsop, these offshore islands "were pretty much their exclusive playground."³

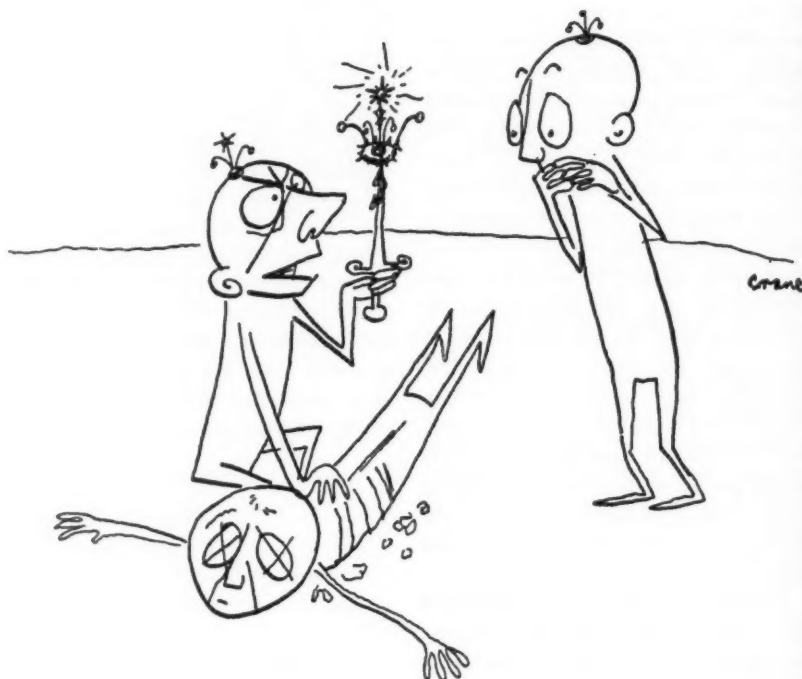
The policy of building Nationalist power and the raids themselves were decided by the CIA and the Pentagon, not by the White House and the State Department, although it is difficult to believe that the Dulles brothers did not discuss this.

These raids from Quemoy which continued until 1954 are the background for the threatening posture of the mainland Chinese and their shelling of Quemoy in 1954 and 1958. In 1958 there were additional factors involved in the Quemoy crisis. This crisis came not long after the landing of American marines in Lebanon and just after the beginning of the nationwide propaganda drive in China to establish the large communes. China thus sought to divert American interest from the Mideast

where Khrushchev was fearful of American intervention. At the same time Chinese Party leaders provided an occasion to justify not only the organization of the communes but their organization along military lines with militia training and activities.

we overlook the psychological fact that rejection is as often a cause of bad behavior as it is an incentive to be good in order to be accepted again. An outlaw nation is very likely to act like an outlaw.

Certainly it seems to me that if we want China to abide by the rules



SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST, YOU KNOW

With this background of American involvement in the Chinese civil war, it does not seem accurate to say that China has either engaged in unprovoked aggression or is trying to shoot her way into the United Nations.

There is another myth that is most often put in these words: China can be admitted to the U.N. only when she demonstrates her adherence to U.N. principles by becoming peace loving. This is another way of saying that by holding out membership in the U.N. as a reward for good conduct China will have an incentive to be peaceful. If we assume that China is an immature boy who will be good in order to be accepted in the world

of the U.N., and to accept the judgments and moral pressures of the U.N. there is a greater chance of her doing so if she is on the inside than on the outside. At the moment the U.N. has very little influence on Chinese foreign policy. Even the prospect of world disarmament is jeopardized because a country that is excluded from the U.N. is not likely to permit U.N. inspectors to be stationed on her soil. Nor can we expect a proud country readily to sign an agreement in whose negotiations she had no share. In other words, if China is to move in the direction of becoming a responsible and peaceful member of the world community she must be included in

³ Stewart Alsop, *The Story Behind Quemoy*, SATURDAY EVENING POST, Dec. 13, 1958.

the counsels of nations and therefore in the U.N.

ASIXTH myth is the idea that if there weren't a Nationalist China on Formosa the 12 million overseas Chinese would form a gigantic fifth column in Southeast Asia and thus make the conquest of Southeast Asia easy. There are a number of reasons for this belief. One is the strong family ties of Chinese both to their ancestors and to their living relatives. The communist action in digging up or destroying ancestral graves and shrines as well as the replacement of large family units with the commune has seriously weakened this tie of the overseas Chinese. They have begun to realize that it is pointless to send money to mainland relatives since with the rationing of food in communal mess halls their relatives get the same amount of food, no matter how much money they receive.

A second reason for this belief is the fact that many of the overseas Chinese although living in such countries as Malaya, Indonesia, and Thailand have never really become a part of their adopted country and still retain an emotional and cultural loyalty to China. In some of these Asian countries the Chinese have had no way of becoming citizens or of feeling that they had a stake in their adopted land. Only by persuading Asian countries to give them such a stake can they develop a greater loyalty to their new homeland. But the fact that the Chinese are, in some countries, kept in an alien position indicates the feeling of the Thai, Malaysians and others toward them. An able study, *The Left Wing in Southeast Asia*, indicates that nationalism in many of these countries is so strong that if "radical doctrines" are "advocated by a minority such as the disliked and feared Chinese . . . such doctrines (are likely) to be automatically rejected by the major indigenous group. Thus, not only in Thailand but even more in Malaya the identification of extreme Marxism with its Chinese proponents has been the main cause

of its failure to take root among, respectively, the Thai and Malay peoples." ⁴

One reason the Chinese have not been welcomed by the various nationals in Southeast Asian countries, according to the same book, is that "the overseas Chinese have conspicuously failed to identify themselves with the nationalist struggle for independence, in the obvious hope of being able to ride out the . . . storm with minimal losses to themselves." ⁵ Then, too, as the civil war stretched out divisions and violence developed among overseas Chinese, further adding to prejudice against them. Actually the only place in Southeast Asia where the Chinese are numerically strong enough to take over is Singapore, although they are sufficiently large in Malaya to make a civil war possible. Even in these countries the Chinese are by no means united in accepting communism. The Mao government in China recognizes this. One reason Mao continues to maintain a structure in which at least eight non-communist parties participate nominally in the government is that he hopes to woo overseas Chinese by the idea that there is a place for non-communists in the public life of China.

⁴ Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *The Left Wing in Southeast Asia*, p. 205.

⁵ Ibid., p. 215.

There is, of course, a tremendous power of attraction which a successful China has, not only for overseas Chinese but for all Asians and this cannot be counteracted by two Chinas, or propaganda, or any other force except by the achievement by India and other Asian countries of rapid industrialization and a higher standard of living. Here the key is large-scale economic and technical assistance via the U.N. rather than military aid from us. Military aid to Pakistan, for example, resulted in India's shift to her military budget of millions of dollars that otherwise would have been available for strengthening her economy.

THE idea that China and Russia are in sufficient disagreement that by our recognition of China we may be able to precipitate a split in their axis is a myth. It is true that the Chinese in modernizing their language rejected the Russian Cyrillic alphabet and chose the Roman, that English is becoming a second language, whereas a few years ago Russian was the chief foreign language taught to students. It is true that the Russians have taken Siberia, an Asian land that at one time belonged to the Manchus, former rulers of China; have deported (1937) the Chinese inhabitants and have been resettling Soviet citizens there. It is



also true that there have been ideological conflicts about the communes, with Khrushchev saying such things in criticism as "Levelling would mean not a transition to communism but the discrediting of it."

These are only a few of the many problems that exist between the two countries and the two parties. But it seems to me wishful thinking to suggest that in the foreseeable future either Russia or China will throw its lot in with the United States anymore than Britain could be expected to break her alliance with the United States when our differences have been as great as those we had over the Suez invasion, to cite only one. In the long future anything could happen. And, of course, now is the time to establish a more flexible policy so that China and Russia are not by our actions kept

forever in a state of either real or surface harmony.

FINALLY, let me speak to the idea which some few Americans have that China is the great hope in Asia, that she has demonstrated in the commune and in the building of the Ming Dam how human beings ought to cooperate, and to the counteridea that China is an indescribable menace to all we hold dear. China is neither angel nor devil in disguise. She is a nation caught up in a revolution and will behave by the rules of revolution so long as world public opinion, especially Asian, African and Russian opinion does not restrain her. She will make mistakes as Russia has done in Europe and as she has already done in invading and antagonizing India—and thus she

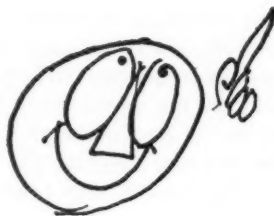
may be her own worst enemy. But the big mistake of assuming that there is no way to deal with China except by military containment and armed force, especially in the nuclear age, will be ours if we are not careful. In that event we shall alienate an Asian world that does not want to be destroyed in any war, let alone one to preserve the Western power position in Asia.

That this is no idle fear is evident from the earlier testimony of John Foster Dulles that we have already gone to the very brink of war.

No one can be certain that Chinese participation in the United Nations will eliminate the danger of war. But we must certainly recognize that without such Chinese participation there is no chance to achieve a disarmed world.



PEOPLE SHOULD BE HAPPY!



THINK POSITIVELY!



READ THE BIBLE MORE . . .



LIKE-ER JOB,
ECCLESIASTES,
REVELATION . . .



—SOME OF THOSE GUYS
WERE SICK.

the task of being faithful

TRANSLATED BY MILOS STRUPL

"... *Worship services*, with the preaching of God's word and the administration of Christ's sacraments, have been held regularly in our 271 congregations and 349 preaching outposts. Participation in the worship services has not been, on the whole, different from that in past years. During the summer months it was necessary, in some localities, to make a change in the hour of worship because of the work in fields, and in such places attendance was, quite naturally, weaker. However when people earnestly desire God's word, they will always find a convenient time for the attendance of the congregation of worship, and it is the task of our ministers to accommodate themselves to the possibilities of their listeners. Above all, it is important that God's Word be truly proclaimed, not human opinions and ideas. This will be given to us as we faithfully uphold the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Covenant and ask for the Holy Spirit who imparts true understanding of the Scriptures.

"Besides the Sunday worship services, our congregations also hold Bible studies on week days. The attendance there is, of course, weaker than on Sunday morning, but in many places faithful groups meet steadily, and in such an environment it is therefore possible to study the Scripture systematically. In some of

our congregations the Bible study attendance has increased.

"... The activity of the denomination has been oriented not only inward, to its own ranks; it has concerned itself with problems of a wider reach as well, *questions which pertain to public life*. The task of the Christian church, first and foremost, is the proclamation of Christ's gospel to everyone 'that hath ears to hear.' However the church must also take notice of what is happening around it in the world and must not flee from its responsibility for mankind as a whole. Our denomination has declared from the beginning—and it stands behind its declaration—that it has a positive attitude to the people's democracy of our country and to the [over-all] building effort of our people. We lead our members to a total loyalty to our constitution, to a faithful and loyal labor and a participation in the shaping of a better future for our nation. That interpretation of Rom. 13, recently propagated by the German [Lutheran] Bishop [Otto] Dibelius is totally foreign to us and we reject it.

"The public activity of our denomination has concerned itself primarily with the work of *peace*. Following the invention of the atomic, hydrogen, and cobalt bombs, which even today would be able to destroy the world and all life in it several times over, the question of

The Thirteenth Synod of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren met in Prague, Czechoslovakia, December 8-10, 1959.

The following are excerpts from the report on the state of the church by the Senior of the Synod, Dr. Viktor Hájek:¹

¹ Passages in quotation marks are a direct translation of the Czech text as printed in the official monthly of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, *Cesky Bratr*, vol. XXXV, No. 10, pp. 146-159. Words in square brackets have been added by the translator for the sake of greater clarity.



WV

war and peace has become especially pressing. Our denomination realized a long time ago that the consequence of the Christian faith in Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, is an honest effort to promote and preserve peace on earth. We take seriously the promise of the Lord Jesus: 'Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.' Therefore, on the one hand, we support all peaceful efforts, from whatever motives they may spring; on the other hand, according to the opportunities given to us, we work for peace. We welcome the proposals for a gradual general disarmament which were offered at the meeting of the U.N. by the Chairman of the Soviet ministers, N. S. Khrushchev, and we advocate most resolutely that the testing of nuclear weapons be never again renewed and that the present stock of these weapons be made harmless and unusable. We rejoice in all progress in the idea of peace, in more intimate relations among nations and countries, and in a renewed trust among peoples, which has been so heavily damaged by the long-lasting 'cold war.' We ourselves want to do all we can to make a contribution to this progress.

"The Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren gave the initiative to the origin of the important peace movement which is called the 'Christian Peace Conference' or the 'Prague

Peace Conference.' This movement, which has been in existence for less than two years, has grown into such proportions that today it is known the world over, the ranks of its followers constantly growing. The Second General Assembly of this Conference in April of this year [1959] was attended by delegates from 16 countries, namely, Bulgaria, the German People's Republic, the German Federal Republic, France, Great Britain, Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Cameroun, Austria, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Soviet Union, Hungary, the United States of America, and Czechoslovakia. The next assembly is planned for April of 1960, and this assembly is to prepare a great peace conference on the world scale for the spring of 1961. The Christian Peace Conference, whose executive committee held its last meeting November 2-4 of this year [1959] in Warsaw, represents an intense effort to create presuppositions for a lasting peace on Christian foundations of mutual forgiveness, reconciliation, and unselfish love of one's neighbor.

"... At the suggestion of the Christian Peace Conference our denomination, as well as other denominations, proclaimed the 'Day of Hiroshima' about August 6 as a day of prayers for the aversion of an atomic war, and peace in the world. I believe I can responsibly declare that members of our denomination are determined advocates of peace and henceforward want to support peace, both with their work and prayers. . . .

"In conclusion some more important statistical data. Our denomination has 271 congregations and 349 preaching outposts. The number of souls [communicants and baptized children] stood at 309,459 at the end of 1958. During the last three years 1,969 new members have joined our denomination while 4,649 members left it; the difference, therefore, is minus 2,680. There are 246 ministers, 53 assistant ministers, 5 lay preachers, making a total of 304. Of this number 14 are women.

"During the last three years 28 new ministers [both men and women] were ordained . . . 15 ministers retired, 17 died, and, for various reasons, 16 ministers [both men and women] ceased to be active.

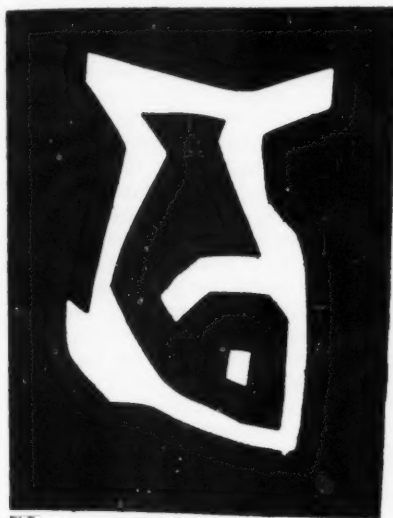
"If we follow the number of souls during the last three years, we note the decrease as follows: 1956—321,349; 1957—318,189; 1958—309,459. On the whole there has been a decrease in the number of souls by 11,790. Although we know that our statistical data are not completely reliable, these figures nevertheless force one to ponder. It cannot be denied that the number of souls in the denomination is on the decrease, and it is our duty to look for the reasons of this phenomenon. Among others it has been caused by our inadequate zeal and sincerity in our labor. We know, of course, that the Church does not stand on human foundations nor on human effort. In the end it is God's business, God's work, but the truth is such that the Lord God sometimes visits his church because of its unfaithfulness, insincerity, and laziness.

"It is up to us, therefore, to confess our guilt before God's face and not make ourselves better before him than we are. In our difficulties we ought not to look for guilt anywhere else except in ourselves, earnestly beseeching God to forgive us our transgressions and give us a new grace and a new blessing . . ."



motive

The following day in the afternoon, as the Synod was discussing



WV

an overture which had to do with the question of peace, ecumenical questions, and the mutual relationship between the citizens who profess

Jesus Christ as their Lord and the state which is about to culminate its cultural revolution, the Vice-Chairman of the Synod, Dr. J. L. Hromádka, Dean of the Comenius Faculty in Prague, asked for the floor in order to append a few remarks to the draft of the Message.

He asserted among others that we must be grateful that we can think of one another and that we expect something one from another. If it were not so, it would be bad witnessing. He feels for those who struggle. However, it is necessary to realize that it is not only the church which has hardships. These are merely a part of the difficulties which beset the whole world and which have lasted for decades. The transition [period] has been a long one. Even in the Western countries spiritual conditions are at a low ebb. If the Church will be faithful in its labor, it does not have to be afraid. As we labor we are responsible for the preparation of this new order.

It is necessary to love the people for whom we are responsible. It is necessary to profess that we understand the great goals to which society is headed. We must prove our faith, that we profess Christ freely. From this also follows the task of explaining what faith in Jesus Christ means. Our fellow citizens must see that honesty, truth, purity are on our side. We fight for the soul of every man in order that he might comprehend the significance of Jesus Christ. Therefore we constantly emphasize the joyfulness of faith. There are concrete questions and concrete situations. In these every one of us is personally involved, yet with the knowledge that he is supported by the prayers of others.

That evening, before the adjournment, Dr. Viktor Hájek, the Senior of the Synod, remarked that it would be now up to the local congregations to interpret all that the delegates have heard and said, namely, **the task of being faithful.**

contributors

ROBERT H. HAMILL is pastor of Wesley Methodist Church, Madison, Wisconsin, which is the Wesley Foundation church serving the University of Wisconsin. He has long been a favorite of *motive* readers.

M. SHUMWAY first appeared in *motive* last January. A poet of real skill, we believe. Graduate of the University of Chicago, now living in Tiburon, California.

JOHN FRYER, a medical student at Vanderbilt University, is also talented as a musician and poet.

JAMES M. LAWSON, JR., was for four years vice president of the National Conference of Methodist Youth, and for three years a Methodist missionary in India. He was expelled from the Divinity School of Vanderbilt University this spring, but continues to live in Nashville, Tennessee.

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR., is a graduate of Dickinson College, with an S.T.B. and M.A. from Boston University, and a Ph.D. from the University of Colorado. He is a minister of The Methodist Church, and this spring has been appointed associate professor of social ethics at the National Methodist Theological Seminary in Kansas City. He leaves his present post as national secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

MILOS STRUPL appears once again in *motive*, but this time as a translator. We appreciate his scholarly ability, used wisely in many ways.

JOHN AYE ROSS came to the ministry in 1949 after almost 20 years in professional theater. In the past ten and a half years he has managed to earn a B.S. Ed. and M.S. Ed., and is fast on his way to a B.D. He is pastor-director of the Wesley Foundation affiliated with St. Paul Methodist Church, Chicago.

REVIEWERS in this issue are **James S. Thomas** and **H. D. Bollinger** of the Division of Educational Institutions, Methodist Board of Education; and **Lawrence L. Gruman**, pastor of University Congregational Church, Missoula, Montana.

ARTISTS IN THIS ISSUE:

KENNETH NELSON (woodblock print of the *Annunciation* on the incert page) is a student at Rhode Island School of Design. We welcome him to *motive*.

JACK MORSE provides linebreakers that explore the possibilities in symbolism or carry a direct message in words, artistically arranged—a sort of modern illuminated manuscript.

ROBERT CHARLES BROWN, who is now working in New York City at Cokesbury book store, remains a faithful contributor with a fresh approach to the image of man and the symbols of the church.

JIM CRANE, who teaches art in Wisconsin, hasn't had much time for drawing his potent cartoons lately, but we gratefully received a new batch just before press time and include several in this issue.

BEN MAHMOUD, assistant instructor of art Ohio University, Athens, sent the remarkable lithograph print *Aware No. 5*. He has exhibited widely in Michigan and Pennsylvania.

on parting

Return

*To a world of real people,
Doing real things in real ways,
Using the same time that we have,
But unaware.*

Unaware

*Of time, of space, of people,
Calling by name without seeing,
Without hearing, without feeling,
Outside of Love.*

Love,

*In which they seldom explore
The never-ending necessity of neededness,
Which for us is now present,
And always.*

—JOHN FRYER



*It is no easy task
to carve songs out of a
swaggering March
when she has come, a small
sibilant flight out of rushes,
suggestive,
all caprice over the blustering
sea, making these landlocked
proper elms
a little ridiculous in such
sober nudity; from the nones
of that windstrung month
to the ides, winterwaste shrubs
blowzy a changeling earth
and nudge out of her
promises of some unlikely spring;
windflung birds in urgent sun
suffer no precisioned verse,
and more, it is a season out of the
course of my own turning; I search
the tideslip shore
for bush and its eternal burning.*

—M. SHUMWAY

music

BY L. P. PHERIGO

CHAMBER MUSIC

It is a pleasure to have three records of fine chamber music in such excellent performances as those under review this time. Mendelssohn's *Octet in E Flat Major*, Op. 20, is played with real finesse and subtlety by the combined forces of the Janacek and Smetana Quartets (Westminster). It is a smooth, legato-style performance, with effective use of dynamic contrasts and very satisfying phrasing. At first, some of the excitement of the famous Scherzo seems to be missing, but it turns up, after all, and with repeated hearings this Scherzo might well turn out to be more truly exciting than the brisker conventional versions.

The Janacek Quartet alone, augmented by the pianist Eva Bernathová, performs superbly the Brahms *Quintet for Piano and Strings* (Decca-DDG). The dust jacket gives no information about the pianist, but she plays in the great tradition here. The Janacek Quartet, of course, is easily the master of this music, and I put this new performance in the same class as the Columbia version with Curzon and the Budapest Quartet, and ahead of all the others currently available. Moreover, it is the only stereo version. Of the older versions, the Bauer-Flonzaley and the Serkin-Busch (both Victor 78s), are collector's items well worth holding on to or acquiring.

The *Piano Quartets* of Beethoven (Op. 16) and Schumann (Op. 47), one RCA Victor record, are performed with distinction by the Festival Quartet, with Goldberg, Primrose, Graudan, and Babin. The potential of such an ensemble of excellent soloists is seldom fulfilled better than here. Highly recommended.

KEYBOARD

Volume One (1 record) of Westminster's edition of the complete organ works of Buxtehude shows that the series will be a good one. Alf Linder, Sweden's leading organist, plays unpretentiously, with a sense of security and dignity and lulls the reader into an unquestioning acceptance of the performances. But I doubt if it will prove itself a really inspired reading. This first volume contains two *Chaconnes*, three *Choral Fantasies*, and the *Passacaglia in D Minor*.

I feel much the same way about the Westminster series of the complete organ works of Bach, played by Carl Weinrich. Volume Seven (3 records) contains the complete *Trios* and *Trio Sonatas*. Weinrich plays these works with his usual precision and rhythmic regularity.

RCA Victor has issued a memorial album for the famous harpsichordist Wanda Landowska (died August, 1959).

It contains the complete *Two-Part Inventions* of Bach and seven of the "Sinfonias" from the *Three-Part Inventions*. Her artistry is familiar to all Bach lovers.

RCA Victor has also issued two piano records of real significance. Gary Graffman has done the four *Ballades* and the *Andante Spianato and Grande Polonaise* of Chopin. It is Graffman's first Chopin recording, and a very impressive entry into the field. In the *Ballades* the only currently available recording in a class with Graffman's performances is Columbia's version by Casadesu. In the *Andante Spianato* his competition is Rubinstein (also on RCA). In both cases, I suspect Graffman's performances will hold their own as significant interpretations.

The other RCA Victor piano record is Rubinstein's newest version of the *Concerto No. 2* of Brahms, with a studio orchestra under Josef Krips. This veteran pianist has recorded this Concerto twice before (most recently with Munch and the Boston Symphony Orchestra, in 1952). This newest one, available in stereo, successfully replaces both earlier and more romantic version of Backhaus performances. It is in the top group of performances, along with the warmer Schuricht (London), the well-planned Serkin-Ormandy (Columbia), the exciting Horowitz-Toscanini (RCA), and the powerful Gilels-Reiner (RCA) versions. I still hold a special affection for the old 78 Schnabel-Boult album, and among the newer ones I would narrow the choice to Backhaus and Rubinstein.

THE TWO MESSIAHS

This season has seen several new *Messiahs*. Two are so abbreviated that they can hardly be classed as anything but a selection of the most popular parts. This will dispose of Bernstein's and Ormandy's (both on Columbia), each of which has its merits. But two complete *Messiahs* have appeared, and both are controversial performances.

On four Westminster records (priced as three) Hermann Scherchen leads a Viennese group through a lean and "authentic" performance that is quite similar to his earlier version for Westminster. On four RCA Victor records (priced as four), and in a new deluxe package designed by the famous Soria team, Sir Thomas Beecham leads a London group in a performance characterized only by Beecham himself. The differences in conception are often extreme, always interesting, usually productive of real controversy, and vastly instructive. Serious Handelians should own both versions.

Scherchen's version is certainly more "authentic." It has more music than Beecham's "complete" version (Nos. 23, 33, and 48, as numbered in the notes with

the Beecham set, have significant cuts), and, what is more important, all is in the correct order (Beecham omits Nos. 34-37 and 49-52, but gives them in an "Appendix" in order to claim completeness).

Scherchen's performance, however, is not equal to the authenticity of his score. His sometimes surprising tempos are not always effective and often suffer in comparison with Beecham's. His legato style is less interesting than Beecham's. Furthermore, his soloists are not equal to Beecham's. But there is an attractive "cleanness" about Scherchen's sterilized *Messiah* that has its own appeal and effectiveness if not played comparatively but in its own right. Westminster's album notes are more instructive than Victor's although less artistic.

Beecham's performance, on the other hand, is not as bad as the "unauthenticity" of the score might lead one to suspect. He is most vulnerable to criticism for using a reorchestrated score, for his quite minor cuts, and for his Appendix of exiled numbers. Sir Eugene Goossens' reorchestration (nowhere acknowledged in the album notes) is modern enough to offend all "purists," and includes the addition of cymbals, triangle, and harp, as well as augmentation of the brasses. If all this is offensive to you, then you'll love Scherchen's version; if not, Beecham's has a lot to offer.

In defense of his treatment of the score, Beecham says "Although I am well opposed to any return to the use of enormous vocal forces, I do seriously consider that if Handel is to be brought back into popular favor some reasonable compromise must be effected between excessive grossness and exaggerated leanness of effect, and this is what has been aimed at in the present version."

Beecham's performance is more interesting, more vital, more compelling, than Scherchen's. He has an uncanny insight into the right style of performance. His Handel is more dramatic, more sensitive and majestic than anyone else's.

ORCHESTRAL

High expectations preceded the arrival of the handsome Soria album of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra under Herbert von Karajan (4 records, RCA Victor). It includes the Brahms *First Symphony*, Beethoven's *Seventh*, Haydn's "London" *Symphony* (No. 104), Mozart's *Symphony No. 40 in G Minor*, and one record of the music of the J. Strauss family.

My expectations were too high. It is a fine album, but not a great one. The Strauss record is the best, without dislodging the supremacy of Clemens Krauss as the interpreter of the waltz king. The others are too lush for my taste. Von Karajan makes the lyrical parts of Beet-

hoven and Brahms sound sluggish, languishing, and tired. The rhythms are not held steady, but continually fussed with, to the detriment of the flow of the music. Occasionally effects are brought out that seem vulgar to me. The orchestra never plays with the precision we are now accustomed to in the best performances. Perhaps the Mozart symphony suffers less from these defects, but even here there is a certain romanticism that ill fits the music. But . . . what an album!

The other orchestral records are more significant musically. First is the powerful reading of the Bruckner *Fifth Symphony* by Jochum and his Bavarian State Orchestra (Decca-DGG). His earlier recording has established his authority

here, and this new one, in stereo, is close to being definitive. The fourth side has some superb Wagnerian excerpts. Jochum has also given us two more Beethoven Symphonies in his series on Decca-DGG, the *Seventh* and the *Second*. In both the Berlin Philharmonic plays flawlessly, and Jochum leads it characteristically. His Beethoven is slow and deliberate, never dull, fine-grained, and wears well indeed.

The others are more routine. It is surprising to find Monteux recording (or even playing) the Sibelius *Second Symphony*; during most of his career he has refused to acknowledge the greatness of Sibelius. His performance bears some of this attitude, for although it is carefully prepared and performed, and very il-

luminating in spots, it fails to get inside the music the way Koussevitsky did. The Boston Symphony Orchestra under Munch has recorded the *C Major Symphony* of Schubert and the Brahms *Fourth Symphony* (both in stereo, on RCA Victor), but neither adds anything to the riches of the record world. Markevitch's version of the Brahms *Fourth Symphony* (Decca-DGG) combines some vulgarity with exquisite woodwind playing. Karl Böhm's *Seventh Symphony* of Beethoven is ponderous and a bit dull, unless you like your Beethoven very serious. The values in all these belong to special collectors; those who buy only one version of each work are advised to avoid these.



I FOUND THIS JOKE IN MOTIVE . . . AND LAUGHED MY FOOL HEAD OFF



BUT IT WASN'T FUNNY, IT HURT!



A JOKE ISN'T SUPPOSED TO HURT . . .



. . . IS IT?

BOOKS

THE student of American race relations is constantly faced with the need for perspective. The problem is so complex and fraught with misunderstanding that many sensitive and intelligent persons have despaired of finding a fair analysis. What, indeed, is a fair analysis in any consideration of the segregation problem in America? The wealth of material published in this area during the last decade underscores the fact that each writer believes his work to be fair or, at least, objective. Yet each of these publications would be rated grossly unfair by a number of other persons who disagree with the position of the writer.

Given such a situation as this, it may be useful to suggest some criteria for the classification and evaluation of the mass of race relations material recently published in America. Even this simple gesture is open to attack because it involves selection and ordering principles; and these are inescapably involved in value judgments. Nevertheless, it is useful to do this because most of the controversy on the segregation issue involves two major points. The first is the disagreement of basic premises on which a position is based. The fact that these basic premises are often assumed rather than expressed only intensifies the controversy. The second is the deep (and often inescapable) personal involvement of many writers in this field, an involvement which leads them to write in the first place. In addition, there are writers who seek the clearest possible explication of a position and the most objective evaluation of all others. Yet, strangely, they too are soundly condemned as "moderates," as "apostates" and even worse.

This situation does not necessarily lead to the scholar's despair. Public debate is the American way of airing issues. The scholar can despair because so much of this debate has been carried on without the background of fact and interpretation that he represents. Generally speaking, too much of the attitude concerning the segregation issue has been anti-intellectual. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 has been called "sociological," with opprobrious overtones that cause the social scientists to shudder. All of us, however, can take hope in the fact that the increase of respect for the findings of science and social science is presently joined with a seriousness of theological understanding to provide more hope than despair.

It is little short of amazing that so much has been written on race relations in the half-decade since the Supreme Court decisions of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955. No reviewer could hope to include more than a selected group of writings. This brings us to criteria for selection. Even though any such criteria might be challenged, there is always some justification for simple fairness in presentation of material.



There will be numerous cross-classifications of material on race relations but these dominant types of approaches are apparent.

1. THE SCHOLAR'S APPROACH. These are represented in such works as Harry Ashmore's *The Negro and the Schools* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954, 299 p. \$2.75), and C. Vann Woodward's *Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955, 155 p. \$1.50).

Even though Ashmore writes as a newspaperman rather than a scholar, the careful and full documentation of this work is certainly scholarly.

2. THE ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE SOUTH. This area must include two works published in 1958. *The Southern Heritage* by James McBride Dabbs (New

York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958, 270 p. \$4), and *An Epitaph for Dixie* by Harry Ashmore (New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1958, 189 p. \$3.50). It must also include the latest and longest book in this field: *The Case for the South* by W. D. Workman, Jr. (New York: Devin-Adair Company, 1960, 309 p. \$5).

3. THE CHRISTIAN INTERPRETATION OF RACE RELATIONS. Almost any list in this area would include these two: *The Kingdom Beyond Caste* by Liston Pope (New York: The Friendship Press, 1957, 170 p. \$3), *The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective* by Kyle Haselden (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959, 222 p. \$3.50). Less well-known, but quite worthy of review is: *Segregation and Desegregation: A Christian Approach* by T. B. Maston

(New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959, 178 p. \$3.50).

4. CASE-MAKING APPROACHES. Since Workman's book, referred to above, is so clearly within this area, it must be so classified. In addition, there are numerous periodical publications in this area. Some are primarily descriptive such as Carl Rowan's article on "The Negro in the North," *The Saturday Evening Post*, October 12, 1957. Others are quite in the tone of Mr. Workman's book such as "The Southern Case Against Desegregation" by T. R. Waring, *Harper's* magazine, January, 1956.

5. CASE STUDIES. As everyone knows, Montgomery, Alabama, and Little Rock, Arkansas, have been the scenes for two such approaches. Published books in this area would include these two: *Stride Toward Freedom* by Martin Luther King, Jr. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958, 230 p. \$2.95), and *It Has Happened Here* by Virgil T. Blossom (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959, 209 p. \$2.95).

Quite obviously, this kind of classification is open to many questions.

It is not exhaustive nor even adequately clear. One might find elements of all five types in one work. Besides, there are other important types, such as autobiographical and personal testimonies, which would suggest even another classification. The point, however, is to suggest to the reader that the basic approach of the author in this field is the key to understanding what he writes and where it fits in a disturbed and complex field.

Already we have implied criteria of evaluation. It will be easy to accept as truth that which is congenial to one's position or condemn as false that which clashes. Clearly, however, the reader who rules out that which clashes with his opinion will miss much that might profitably challenge his own presuppositions.

If, therefore, one wanted to attain a fair degree of understanding in this area, fairness might suggest the following criteria.

1. Reading should be done in all classifications. Scholarly work must be properly matched with case-making, for example; broad generalities with case studies.

2. Basic premises rather than specific "facts" should be sought out and analyzed.

3. The context of Christian and democratic ideals must be an inescapable one for American race relations.

4. Static historical reference must be seen under the light of present national and international forces.

Having spent so much time on background, it may now be useful to refer to seven books in four of the categories listed above. All of them have been and very likely will remain on the reading lists of students in this field.

Workman's *Case for the South* is in many ways a long and disturbing book. The disturbance comes not from the "facts" which are certainly open to challenge. It comes rather from the angry mood, the proof-text quotations, the questionable basic premises of the book. It comes also from the use of stereotypes and the oversimplification of what Mr. Workman himself admits to be a most complex problem.

The book begins by saying that "The South is being scourged by four pestilential forces. . . ." These forces are: 1. The Supreme Court of the United States; 2. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; 3. The Northern politicians and propagandists; and 4. The Ku Klux Klan. This basic oversimplification sets a pattern which runs through the book. It betrays a lack of knowledge about or deliberate violence to modern social process and history.

Mr. Workman sees the Southerner (white) as the man in the middle. Writing, as he says, "from the edge of anger," he predicates his book on the idea of States' Rights and a return to Supreme Court decision of 1896, being, in simple terms, the separate-but-equal doctrine.

One might well question most of the book's assumptions; that the South is pilloried; that Negroes are not (or even should be) able to develop a community when left to themselves; that the term "darky" should not be objectionable to Negroes; that Ralph McGill and Harry Ashmore cannot speak for the South even as the author does.



I'M DOING THIS FOR YOUR OWN GOOD

IN short, the *Case For the South* is not a case at all; it is a rather full and blunt expression of how some white Southerners feel about the Supreme Court in particular and Negroes in general. It does, however, present convincing "facts" to show why these people feel this way. Therefore, it is perhaps a correct interpretation of many feelings though it should not be as widely generalized as Mr. Workman permits.

For all of his objections that Southerners are misunderstood, Mr. Workman both tells us how "the average Negro" feels, then tells us that the masses of Negroes are not to be trusted and that white people do not understand Negroes. (p. 167) He never tells which he really means. Again he misunderstands the Negro goals. He says Negroes do not want fairness or equality; "they want merger." (p. 186) Space will not permit either Mr. Workman's enumeration of these generalizations or the list of his solutions.

The book's value to Negroes ought to be seen; not anger but an understanding both of feeling and of present propaganda forces. For whites, the case must be set over against Christian and democratic ideals. Yet, as Mr. Workman even admits, both whites and blacks inhabit the South. He therefore ends by asking for that which segregation specifically prohibits: naturalness.

If the two races are to meet upon terms of social equality, it must be the result of natural affinities, a mutual appreciation of each other's merits, and a voluntary consent of individuals. (p. 302)

With this as background, some comments are in order on other works written since 1954. C. Vann Woodward, the historian, a native of Arkansas, is the best corrective for Workman's historical errors. In his *Strange Career of Jim Crow*, he points out the recency of segregation laws, the manner of their enactment, and the common historical errors of the case makers. It was appropriately published in 1955.

Remembering the need for clear basic premises (even those which supersede States' Rights), one wonders how Liston Pope of North Carolina and William Workman of South Carolina can be so far apart. In

Kingdom Beyond Caste, Pope clearly sets the context for understanding and evaluating our race relations in world-wide terms and from Christian and democratic perspective. So do T. B. Maston of Texas and Kyle Haseldon of South Carolina, both of whom contribute creatively to the meaning of Christian faith for present and future understanding of race relations. Each of these works deserves the longer review which they have received in other publications.

The term "case-making" might be used in a derogatory sense. This is not the sense used in this review. Beyond defensiveness, there is a higher sense in which all writers seek to "make a case." The only real question is the kind of case one seeks to make. Obviously, the case can be for the South or for the North; for the Negro or the white man; for moderation or defiance. All of these cases have been and can be made.

It is regrettable that Mr. Workman so easily waves aside other Southern writers who do not happen to agree with his own position, either in mood or in emphasis or in fact. He specifically reads Ralph McGill, Harry Ashmore and James McBride Dabbs out of the South. Yet clearly they are Southerners with as much right to the name and heritage as Mr. Workman. In fact, without any previous plan of geographical selection, every writer cited in this review is a native Southerner. As natives, they command some attention from Mr. Workman.

No work cited above can be properly classed as a segregation or integration case except Workman's. If cases they be, they are cases for America and for a Christian nation. It seems fair to say that only one is written "from the edge of anger." Both Ashmore and Dabbs write with understandable nostalgia about the departure of "the peculiar institutions" to use Ashmore's term. Neither is anti-South. Yet neither is anchored in a Southern history that will not change because they know it has changed. It has changed radically and irrevocably in a thousand nonracial ways. Its change was not either by or for the Negro. Industrialism, the dispersion and migration, the departure of agricultural domination, the emergence of a new



Negro middle class, the slow but effective educational process of propaganda and of classroom—these merely begin the list of historical and economic forces which stumble and march their way through the new South.

No sober writer can summon the brashness to discount these forces or predict what they shall make of us. It is to be earnestly hoped that all of us—Southerners, Negro and white—will be found in a posture of reverent acceptance of God's will in reconciliation rather than the mood of anger or defiance in which we not only miss God's will but also the best of man's will.

—James S. Thomas

The Pressure of Our Common Calling, by W. A. Visser 't Hooft (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., \$2.50).

Written by the general secretary of the World Council of Churches, this book is one of the working documents to be used by the World Student Christian Federation in preparation for the world conference on the Life and Mission of the Church to be held in Strasbourg in July, 1960. It is "a book about the theology of the ecumenical movement." Some, especially Americans, will probably think it is a book of

theology for the World Council of Churches. Far from it. In fact, the author is careful to disavow this position. He goes much much deeper to seek for the unity in Christ "which embraces all of life."

There is a unity "of the road" and a unity "of the goal" and we must seek the unity toward which we can grow "which is biblically normal." The writer selects three aspects of the mission of the Church "which seem to us more fundamental than any other." They are *marturia*, or witness; *diakonia*, or service; and *koinonia*, or fellowship. The three chapters on these three aspects of the Gospel are powerful, thorough; and written with both biblical and theological insight and understanding.

The final chapter of the book is on "the calling to unity in Christ." Perhaps the entire book is summarized in the four different meanings of unity to which the author directs our attention:

1. The given unity of our common calling. This is the unity "which is laid, which is Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. 3:10).
2. The growing unity in fulfilling the common calling. This is the unity "of the road." It is the growth of "the *Una Sancta*, the one Church of Christ."
3. The churchly unity in faith and order. This is the unity of the church expressed in "the common faith, the common sacraments, the common ministry, the common life in each place where the church is planted."
4. The ultimate unity in Christ. This is "a total mutual interchange of being—Christ wholly given to us, we wholly given to Him."

It is to be hoped that all student Christian groups will use *The Pressure of Our Common Calling* as a basis of study, and that it will be widely read among students. The book is written by the former general secretary of the World Student Christian Federation who writes with cryptic, incisive words and sentences. Like the great world leader that he is, Visser 't Hooft leaves aside the incidentals and probes deep to the heart of the matter, challenging Christians to understand "the pressure of our common calling" in Christ.

Politics and Evangelism, by Philippe Maury (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co. \$2.95).

Philippe Maury, general secretary of the World Student Christian Federation, participated in the French underground during World War II. As a Christian, he daily made practical political decisions. For 14 years he has been the general secretary of the World Student Christian Federation. In this capacity, he likewise has made daily decisions of social, political and evangelistic significance.

Maury begins by calling attention to the political obstacles to evangelism. He cites the fact that the church has become prisoner of the world. He believes that "the church

not believe his wonderful little book can be clearly understood unless one catches the gist of it in such words as, "The church must rethink the biblical conception of history and particularly of Christian hope, of eschatology of 'the last things,'" and "Eschatological hope is . . . the joyful waiting for our Savior." These two quotations, and others like them, do not by any means exhaust his theology. They are simply a part of it. However, if one can grasp the total of Maury's (he is a layman) theology one will have sound and solid reasons for practical social and political action as an evangelistic expression for the total Christian witness. In fact, this book is strongly recommended for students and all other Christians as a real down-to-earth handbook for Christian social and political action.

Space forbids to give *Politics and Evangelism* the kind of review it so richly deserves. Maury comes up with helpful suggestions for practically all the tough questions we face today in nationalism, racism, pacifism, atomic warfare, fear and tension in general. To each he applies the Gospel of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ.

May we indulge in a closing personal word? Philippe Maury has probably done more for me in the last fifteen years than any other one person. He is dynamic, energetic, deeply religious, devoted, a man of the church and of the world, a brilliant thinker and leader of students; above all, a personal friend. Thank God the church has world leaders of such stature!

—H. D. Bollinger



must confess to failures . . . and listen to the world." As we attempt to act politically, he calls our attention on the one hand, to separatist pietism and on the other to what he calls political catholicism which "becomes synonymous with synthesis, syncretism, almost pantheism."

The author believes that sound political thinking and acting will grow out of our renewal of biblical theology. There are many theologically trained persons who can tell by the way Maury writes what he is thinking along these lines. We do

NOTE: Study-involvement groups, meeting ecumenically on campuses this spring semester, have made use of materials provided through the Commission on World Mission, National Student Christian Federation (475 Riverside Drive, New York 27). "The Guide to Study-Involvement" is 15 cents per copy. "Accent on Involvement," 20 cents a copy, is sold separately and also included in a spring study packet with a paper-back *Politics and Evangelism* (\$1.65), "God's People in God's World" (10 cents) and the "Basic Books Reading Course on the World Mission of the Church" (15 cents).

The packet sells for \$2.10, postage and handling included.

Forerunners of Jesus, by Leroy Waterman. (Philosophical Library).

Here is a rattling good piece of biblical scholarship, colorfully written and soundly argued. The basic contention breathes fresh life into our biblical understanding, whatever our belief. Here, in brief, is the channel of thought: Prophetic religion reached a high point in Second Isaiah, but Israel was not equal to accepting this unnamed prophet's insights. Consequently, they became the guiding spirit of the *Qumran* sect whose library has only recently been uncovered near the Dead Sea. One able representative of this group was John the Baptist, through whom the great prophet's ideas were transmitted to Jesus Christ. However, because Jesus never wrote anything for posterity, his message has been distorted by those who wrote about him. These writers, being preoccupied with legalism, miracles and apocalyptic, could not cope with the revolutionary "spiritual rejuvenation" that threads its way through Jesus' message. So today we have to ferret out the essence of Jesus' message from the cloud of contradictory material gathered by the writers whose spiritual framework was inherited at a time when Israel's prophetic faith had badly decayed.

A fine section dealing with the "servant songs" in Isaiah 40-55 highlights the book and gives point to the whole discussion. Reflections of Second Isaiah's thought are found in Jonah and in Isaiah 56-66, the author contends. Then, we are treated to the reconstruction of the *Qumran* community and its probable relation to John the Baptist. Finally, these conclusions emerge:

1. Jesus alone in the first century A.D. was provided "with the means that made available the teaching of all the great prophets before him as the basis used for projecting his own still more closely articulated religion.

2. "The call of Jesus by his life and death as the exponent of a world religion here and now is an appeal to accept a loftier faith in God and man than traditional Christianity at its best has ever professed. . . ."

3. Jesus "called on all men to

reclaim and redeem the earth and, with God's help, transform it into a kingdom of God here and now. This was to be accomplished by daring to stand for justice and steadfast love even unto death, in all human relations, as man's chief business in life."

The ringing call to service and sacrifice brings the book to a virile close. None of the de-mythologizing anxieties, none of the fretfulness over sin and redemption; none of the haunting tension-filled decisions arising from the Spirit's urgency; none of the wrestling with Incarnation and justification . . . no, none of these. The writer has, with scholarly grace, wiped out biblical theology's past two decades of struggle and substantiated the "go-get-'em" liberalism of the twenties and thirties. Or has he?

The Prophets of Israel, by C. Ross Milley (Philosophical Library, \$3.75).

Hebrew prophets are perennially interesting because of their outspoken criticism of their culture, their avowal of pure religion and their fearless pursuit of the prophetic vocation. Every age finds in them a fresh voice set over against conventional thinking, and every era sees them after the pattern of its own needs. In the past three decades the interpreters seemed fairly certain that the prophets' messages continued to bear decisively on their times. But in our increasingly chaotic times, their strident voices are more safely consigned to antiquity.

At least, that's the impression one gets in reading Milley's book. This is a good primer on the prophets from the standpoint of their monotheism. Elijah begins the parade; Second Isaiah brings monotheistic

thought to its high point. Embedded in their own times, these towering figures make a fascinating study in creative conservatism, for their primary concern was to preserve the moral and theological insights of ancient Israel "on the march." It is this facet of the prophets that Mr. Milley has chosen to expound, and he does it with faithfulness to the text as well as solidly backed references to leading Old Testament scholars.

The Bible Speaks, by Robert Davidson (Crowell, \$3.95).

The author makes a valiant but uneven effort to encompass the entire biblical story and its meaning in a single small book. There is portrayed the dramatic sweep of biblical events with a careful noting of trans-testamental influence. There is abundant quotation to illustrate the author's contentions. There is a helpful survey at the outset of each chapter of things to come. There is a demonstrated conviction of the unity of the Bible. But for all that, we have here an attempt to recount the whole Bible drama, offer an interpretation, and preach about the significance of the major dynamics. The result is eclectic rather than incisive, suggestive rather than convincing.

Having said all that, we must note that well-chosen examples from the Scriptures highlight this tour through holy Writ. Further, fascinating glimpses of historical and theological insight are given. But for the most part the book serves to heighten the understanding of one already familiar with most of the biblical account.

—Laurence L. Gruman

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Rocket, by Delattre	Mar.	13
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motive

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AWARE # 5

(lithograph)

BY BEN MAHMOUD

the believer

Once upon a time
there was a man
who believed in Jesus Christ;
Not merely professed to believe—
but truly believed—
that is, believed in Him
as Savior,
Redeemer,
Son of God.

Although he did not go about
asking: "Brother, are you saved?"
or crying: "Armageddon approaches!
Make ready!"
He did not even hand out tracts.

He loved his fellow man;
He was merciful
as his Father is merciful.
He went about doing good—
oh, not obviously, pharisaically,
but quietly,
generously,
lovingly,
freely,
indiscriminately—
no questions asked;
no sermons accompanying his gifts.
He did not even have his name
put in the papers
with an account of his accomplishments,
or the amount of his gifts.
One night,
while attempting to make peace
between two friends,
he was beaten to death
by both.

—JOHN AYE ROSS

